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Anti-Slavery Standard.

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THE STANDARD.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Reported for THE STANDARD by WILLIAM HENRY BURR.

THE Society held its Twenty-third Anniversary at the City Assembly Rooms, No. 446 Broadway, New York, on Wednesday morning, May 7. At the hour of commencement the house was well filled, and hundreds who came afterwards were obliged to go away for want of room.

The meeting was called [illegible] order by the President of the Society, [illegible] Garrison, who read the first few verses from the 6th and 7th chapters of Jeremiah; after which, an opportunity being offered to any one who felt disposed to offer vocal prayer, a prayer was offered by THEODORE PARKER.

The PRESIDENT then stated to the Society that their Treasurer, FRANCIS JACKSON, was detained at home by illness, but his report will be presented at a subsequent meeting, likewise the report of the Secretary. It was worthy of remark that this was the only time for the last twenty-one years that their beloved and respected friend Francis Jackson had not been present at the Anniversary; it was not deemed prudent in the present precarious state of his health for him to leave home.

The PRESIDENT then read the following resolutions, which were to be the subject of action at the future meetings:

1. Resolved, That organized as it was to effect the entire abolition of chattel slavery in our country, the American Anti-Slavery Society will not have fulfilled its mission until the last slave shall have been set free, and "liberty proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

2. Resolved, That in a cause so humane and righteous, we can know nothing of weariness or despondency—nothing of concession or compromise—nothing of effecting a truce or bearing a retreat; but, recognizing in every slave "a man and a brother," asserting his right to immediate and unconditional emancipation, and proclaiming the sinfulness of slaveholding under all circumstances, we shall continue to call men and things by their right names—to "agitate, agitate, agitate," giving the oppressor no repose in his iniquity, and the land no rest, so long as a single fetter remains to be broken.

3. Resolved, That slavery has not only cloven down the rights of its victims, but impaired the reason and paralyzed the conscience of the slaveholder—turning the South into one vast Bedlam, without any restraint upon its madness; fulfilling the ancient declaration that "whom the gods intend to destroy, they first render insane."

4. Resolved, That the anti-slavery sentiment, which is "bounded by 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude," is unbounded foolishness and measureless infatuation.

5. Resolved, That we are struggling not for the non-extension, but for the non-existence of slavery—not to make it sectional, but to drive it out of the land—not to restore the Missouri Compromise, but to terminate all compromises—not to repeal the aggressions of the Slave Power upon Northern rights, but to secure Freedom and Equality to all who dwell upon the American soil—making the inbrutal have the test of all Statesmanship, all patriotism, all philanthropy, and all true religion.

6. Resolved, That the right to enslave a human being, on any pretense whatever, is not a debatable question, any more than is the right to commit adultery, burglary, highway robbery, or piracy; and to every defence or apology for its exercise, ours is the good old Revolutionary reply: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

7. Resolved, That all constitutional liberty has ceased to exist in this country; that none but "the traffickers in slaves and souls of men" are permitted to enjoy freedom of speech and of the press, wherever they plant their feet; that we are living under the sway of "Border-Ruffianism," incarnated in the person of Franklin Pierce—no longer the legitimate President of the United States, but one deserving of immediate impeachment and removal for his perfidy and treason as the unscrupulous tool of the Slave Power; and, therefore, that we are in the midst of a revolution, to throw off the chains of a shrieking oligarchy a thousand times more intolerable to be borne than any ever imposed upon our Revolutionary fathers by the mother country.

8. Resolved, That we shall neither give nor ask for any quarter; but our motto is, "Victory or Death."

The PRESIDENT then introduced to the audience the well-tried and much-beloved friend of the cause, SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse (applause).

SPEECH OF SAMUEL J. MAY.

Mr. President—Friends and Fellow-Citizens: We have come again to this great centre of pecuniary, political and moral influence to plead with all who have ears to hear the cause of millions that are in bondage in this "land of the free and asylum of the oppressed." If there be an inconsistency on the face of the earth comparable to that which our nation now presents to the detestation of all true lovers of humanity, tell me where that inconsistency is to be seen. We have come here to protest against it; we have come here to expose it more and more; we come here to ask, to demand of all who have hearts to feel and minds to appreciate the claims of humanity, that they will no longer leave a stone unturned, no effort unmade, to effect the entire emancipation of every enslaved human being on this soil (applause). I trust, fellow-citizens, that we are perfectly understood. I trust it is not suspected of us that we have aught to conceal of our principles or our intentions. They have been declared as distinctly as words could declare them from the beginning of our career, in the very first article written by him whom we rejoice still to regard as our leader in this great enterprise (applause); and year after year we have been seeking for something plainer than words to show how intense is our hatred of slavery, how uncompromising our determination in opposition to it, and how untiring shall be our efforts to effect its overthrow. The cause we plead is based upon the simplest principles of truth, justice and common humanity—so simple that he who runneth may read; and the justice of our demand is so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err in respect to it.

And yet the progress of our cause has been, we confess, slow—certainly in comparison to its justice—slow certainly in comparison with our hopes and our earnest expectation. Little did we know of the length, and the breadth, and the height, and the depth of the opposition we should have to encounter in this enterprise. We believed that there was truth, that there was justice, that there was mercy in our land. We believed that there were honest men in the counsels of the nation, and pious men and women in our churches. We believed that there were enough of them to answer our demands when they understood them, and that all that was needed was, that we should only make known to them the monstrous fact that there were millions in our land who were denied all the rights of humanity, whose tenderest feelings were trampled in the dust, and to whom this boastful land of liberty was far worse than the dark region of Egypt was to the children of Israel in the days of their bondage. We believed that all that was necessary was to make known to the people of our land the terrible facts of which we ourselves had become informed, principally, we gratefully acknowledge, through the exposures made by William Lloyd Garrison, who saw, first of all of us, through the mist that was cast before our eyes by those who were assuming to be the friends of the enslaved in our country—I mean the leaders of the Colonization enterprise. We believed that all that was necessary was to make known to the true-hearted and humane in our land the terrible facts of which we ourselves had become cognizant, and they would unite heart and hand for the redemption of the enslaved.

But by degrees, and by not very slow degrees either, the extent, and the determination, and the bitterness, and withal the power of the oppressors have been made known to us, until now we feel that it is just to make the statements and the declarations that have been made in the resolutions to which you have just now listened. Little did that man (pointing to Mr. Garrison) dream thirty years ago that he would be called, in obedience to the truth, to utter such sentiments as he had now put in language that we hope will burn into the minds and hearts of every one that has heard or shall hear them. Little did he expect to meet with such opposition. Well do I remember the counsels we held in the early movements of this enterprise—how comparatively soon we expected to accomplish our undertaking. But not only did we find ourselves misunderstood, misrepresented and after a while subjected to personal abuse and even to imminent peril of our lives, but we found everywhere a spirit which for a while we could not fully understand.

It was not till 1835 that I myself was made fully to apprehend what it was that we were encountering. It was in this city, at the second annual meeting of this Society, when a merchant, a prominent merchant of this city, notwithstanding what he regarded as my fanaticism, took me, as he thought, kindly, by the arm, and in walking through the streets of this city sought to make me understand what it was, in his opinion, we were endeavouring to do and what we could not do. "I grant," said he, "that your purposes are humane and kind; I grant, too, that your principles abstractly are right; no man in his senses can deny it; but we can't afford to let you succeed." What was my reply? "Not afford to do that which is just and right and merciful?" said I. "No, my friend," said he—for he then called me his friend—"you will not succeed; you shall not succeed"—these were his emphatic words—"we cannot afford to let you succeed; millions, millions, of the property of this city and of the Northern States are implicated in the institution of slavery and you shall not succeed." My answer I trust he will remember: "Perish your money with you (applause), and unless the spirit of avarice be stronger than the spirit of truth we will trimmph over you yet" (loud applause).

The struggle may be long—much longer than we have been wont to apprehend; but struggle on and struggle ever; we will tell you and the merchants of this great city and of our country here to-day that truth is mightier even than money (applause).

The next speaker introduced was Mr. REMOND.

SPEECH OF CHARLES LENOX REMOND.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I shall be expected to respond not only to the sentiment uttered by my esteemed friend, Mr. May, but also to concur in the resolutions which have been submitted by the President of the Society; and in my concurrence with those resolutions I shall define my humble position touching this great question involving so many important interests in our country. I admire the aggressive spirit of the resolutions, because it would seem that the events now transpiring in our country under the influence of American slavery, require such action at our hands as American citizens. I need not remind this audience, Mr. President, that I appear here as a coloured man. That they will perceive (laughter). But I wish to remind them that what I have to say does not, and shall not originate in the circumstance of my complexion, but that I claim to be a man and an American citizen (loud applause). Next to the word "God," I conceive that of "man" to be the highest in importance. Believing this to be true, I know of no crime, committed by man, so great and so atrocious as the enslavement of his fellow-man. These being my convictions, I have no hesitation in calling upon this audience, and upon all my fellow-countrymen, to look this circumstance fairly in the face, outside of all institutions, outside of dollars and cents, outside of sectarianism, outside of complexion, and to view it as it deserves to be viewed. When we shall do this, we shall have become Abolitionists in the only sense required—ready to remove this atrocious system from our country.

I said that I did not wish to be considered as speaking on this occasion as a colored man, or because of my identity with my brethren of that complexion in bondage. But I wish to ask those who are present to-day whether they may not properly consider that they have as much to do with this question as I can have. For, sir, in the betrayal of the black man's rights by the white man of this country your own rights are gone. The question, therefore, belongs to you in common with me, and I need only recapitulate a few historical facts familiar to the minds of many that sit here, but not yet recognised by the great mass of the American people, to make this evident.

Sir, I am no logician; if I were, I trust that this cause does not require logic. I am no philosopher; if I were, I do not believe it requires philosophy. I am no declaimer; if I was, I do not consider that it requires declamation. It simply requires the exercise of common humanity and common sense. We have a great deal of everything in this great and growing country, but great men in the true sense of the word. We have any amount of democracy; any amount of religion; but I apprehend that our religion is not unlike that which the Italian nobleman told the philosopher Franklin was manufactured on a large scale in Italy for exportation (laughter). If I can understand the influences of American popular religion, I could wish that it was manufactured for exportation and not for home consumption (laughter and applause); for a true religion could not, under any circumstances, recognise the infernal system of American slavery, which is not only warring upon it, but upon every other institution dear or desirable to a decent man. I conceive that all that is required, however, in the United States to abolish slavery is, a decent amount of humanity.

What is slavery but the opposite of Christianity, the opposite of Democracy, the opposite of all those principles and sentiments which the American people profess, not only to be prond to cherish, but to promulgate throughout the whole world? No nation looks higher in its aim; no nation is more daring in its adventures; no nation is more patriotic in its professions; no nation strives harder to convince the world of its regard for human liberty. Well might our friend May say that a more glaring inconsistency could be found nowhere else than that which this nation exhibits. No man will deny that we are a people that make the boasts and professions to which I have alluded; how then does it happen, that the same people who can take sides with the oppressed of Greece, of Poland, of Hungary, and even of Russia, cannot take even a common sense view of the oppression that exists in this country—cannot see and feel its terrible workings here? Sir, we know that when the Federal Constitution was adopted slavery existed in nearly all the States. But it is contended by many that the major part of the spirit and sentiment of those who framed that Constitution was essentially anti-slavery. How then does it happen that slavery has been permitted to perpetrate acts of such a high-handed character? I have said that every man, white as well as black, was interested in this question. But they have been regardless of that interest and careless of the influence of slavery, so that ten slave States have been added to this Union with little opposition. True, there was a show of opposition to the admission of Missouri, and a faint opposition to the admission of Texas, but that opposition soon died away. When Arkansas applied for admission into the Union as a State, she was admitted by a majority Northern vote of ten with the infernal clause in her Constitution that slavery should never be abolished within her borders. The American people north of Mason and Dixon's line knew this, and yet but a handful expressed their dissent or their opposition. Did that indicate an anti-slavery sentiment? Did it indicate a care concerning the workings of the institution of slavery?

At the time of the adoption of the Constitution, it is true, there were men throughout the country who held anti-slavery sentiments; but those sentiments, though they were theoretically responded to, were practically disregarded, until the time has come when no white man south of Mason and Dixon's line dare stand erect and proclaim himself to be in favour of impartial liberty. If there is one thing that I hate in the workings of slavery next to its cruelties to its victims, it is that it has unmade so much as before existed of manhood in this country. This may be seen in many ways. It may be seen in the conduct of Northern senators, and representatives, and foreign ministers. It may be seen in the conduct of men to whom we have been wont to look for example. Slavery has caused men of the prondest intellect to bend the knee and bow the head. It has caused such a man as Edward Everett to declare on the floor of Congress his willingness to volunteer his service in putting down a slave insurrection, and such a man as Robert C. Winthrop to stand up in Faneuil Hall and tell the American people that the best method of doing away with slavery is to do nothing. Such is the influence of slavery. Hence, as I said, I admire the aggressive spirit of the resolutions, for in view of these things we are called upon to take our stand and march boldly forward in the face of the institution, call it by its proper name and characterize it as the crime of crimes.

When we see the rights of Northern citizens invaded or violated, it is but the return which we have a right to expect from those who make such havoc upon the rights of coloured men. How many there are who are violently opposed to the establishment of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I would as soon see slavery in Kansas as in South Carolina; as soon see it in Nebraska as Georgia. Indeed, I would rather see it in those Territories than in the District of Colnmbia, over which the whole people of this country have jurisdiction, and for the continuance of slavery in which every citizen is responsible.

But, to pass to my concluding observations. I conceive that the actual slaveholders of the United States are no more to be found South than North of Mason's and Dixon's line. They are to be found in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, and all over the nation. Mr. Chairman, if there is one prayer to God that I make more than all others it is, that the day may not be far distant when my fellow-countrymen engaged in this anti-slavery cause shall make the great issue with Northern and not with the Southern slaveholders. There are men in our Northern cities deeply interested in slave property. A few days ago a vessel was condemned in this harbour as a slaver on the coast of Africa. In view of such facts it is that I say that more manhood and more humanity is needed at the North in order to successfully resist this institution. If our cause is failing to advance as it should from any one cause at the present time, it is the want of men of consistency—for the want of radical anti-slavery men. Some are advising the people to contribute money to purchase Sharp's rifles for the defence of the liberties of the settlers in Kansas. I want to hear them advise them to purchase Sharp's rifles to send down upon the slave plantations (applause). The black man in Virginia is ready to fight for his liberty and defend his fireside as the white settler in Kansas (loud applause). When the Northern people are prepared to take that ground slavery will cease to exist.

I believe I am sufficiently liberal and magnanimous to recognise and appreciate every true friend to the anti-slavery cause; but I do not recognise such a friend in any man who worships the American Union, nor in one who can eulogise the American Constitution, nor in one who believes in postponing to a future day the overthrow of slavery. I like the sentiment of my friend Robert Purvis—that no man on the anti-slavery platform or off it can be trusted in a tight place who is not an ont and ont dismionist (applause and hisses). Nothing else in my opinion will cure this evil (hisses and applause). I do not know whether those hisses are in contempt of my remark or with a view to put down the applause; but I presume the former. I learn from this expression that there are those present who have got to travel fast and far before they will reach true anti-slavery ground. In view of this expression, therefore, I will take an additional five minutes upon the subject of the dissolution of the American Union.

It is a lamentable fact that there are so many idolaters in regard to the American Union. No man can deny, who knows much upon this subject, that it rests upon the palpitating hearts of nearly four millions of our fellowmen; and yet there are those who regard such a Union of much more value and importance than the rights of those unoffending brethren. Every black man in this country, if he would be consistent, must view that Union as I do, as the chief instrument for the perpetuation of that foul system of slavery (hisses and applause). I go into the District of Columbia; what do I find? I find that every man who will not bow the knee and bend the neck to the Slave Power is considered unsound by the three hundred thousand who rule this country, and is ostracised, proscribed and contemned by them. And I would tell those who are found hissing here to-day that if they go to the South and dare to speak anti-slavery sentiments there like true men, they will find the American Union of no more value to them than it is to me; and to me it is a curse (applause). It is easy for men in the metropolis of New York to hiss the public expression of sentiments in opposition to this Union; but when they shall come to test the spirit of the slaveholder, they will learn that there is nothing like a communion or a union of spirit between them and him. Until they shall learn this, I expect they will pursue the course they are now pursuing.

I was born, Mr. Chairman, in Massachusetts, within a few miles of Bunker Hill, where I have listened to not a few of the Fourth of July Orations delivered on that spot. I am not able to trace my ancestry into slavery. No matter, however, for that. I simply claim, as I said in the outset, to be a man and an American citizen, and I lay that claim upon the same ground that others claim it. But if I go into the District of Columbia to-morrow, though I say not the first word, my very complexion is legal presumption of my being a slave, and I may there be thrown into prison for no other fault than the colour of my skin. Where, then, is the benefit of this much-landed Union to me? Where is the shield of the American Constitution to me? Where is the protection of American law to me? Where is American justice and American humanity to me? Nowhere. Then, so long as this Union is the oppressor, not only of the three and a half million slaves at the South, but of every freeman in the North, my prayer to God is that it may be broken into as many pieces as there are groans ascending daily to the God of humanity and of liberty from the oppressed of this nation (applause and some hisses).

A GENTLEMAN from the back part of the audience here rose and made some remarks, which were almost inaudible to the reporter; but the purport of them appeared to be that he thought both sides of the question of disunion ought to have a hearing.

The PRESIDENT stated that the speakers for this meeting were invited, and it was not in order for others to interpose any remarks; but the subsequent meetings were free for any one to express his or her sentiments on the great question of the day. Then the question could be discussed pro and con.

The next speaker announced was Mrs. Lucy Stone Blackwell.

SPEECH OF LUCY STONE BLACKWELL.

I am glad, everywhere and upon all occasions, to contribute my mite, so far as I am able, to help on the day when there shall be no slaves, and it is especially grateful to me to-day to be present at this anniversary. For the last year I have been living directly on the slave border, and almost every day I have been able to see over on to slave soil, where I know that neither I nor you, known as the slave's friend, can walk in safety—so much is this "glorious Union" worth—where also daily may be seen the selling of human beings. And even where I live I am surrounded by a class of people whose highest nationality idea is, "Let there be no more free territory." It is grateful, therefore, to come back here and look into the faces of those whose motto is, "Without concealment, without compromise"—whose aim is not merely to keep slavery out of Kansas—whose sentiment is not "slavery sectional, and freedom national"—but who are seeking the destruction of slavery everywhere and altogether. I am glad to meet such friends on every recurring anniversary; I am glad to take them by the hand while we pledge ourselves, each to the other and to all, anew to this great work of the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have but a single thought that I wish to speak, and it is this: The anti-slavery cause has now passed through the era of indifference. As some one said, "It is no business of ours; let it alone; it is only the negroes at the South that are concerned." I say it has passed through that stage, and men now see very well that slavery, with its Argus eyes and its Briarian hands, is clutching everywhere at the rights of white humanity as well as black; and they are beginning to say, "Hands off from us." But as yet they do not see, standing on the mount of vision, that the gain or loss of one of the least of God's creatures is the gain or loss of all; they are only asking that slavery may be limited.

I have in my hand a part of a speech made by one who, when he speaks, the nation listens and millions believe that what he utters is the highest sentiment that ought to be spoken. I read from a speech of John P. Hale, recently made in the United States Senate, in which he says:

"Let me state; all that we ask, all that we desire, all that we claim is this: If you like slavery, keep it; nobody finds any fault with you for doing so. We disclaim any purpose, any wish to interfere with it in the States. What the desire of the gentlemen is, as I understand them, is that the States shall say the General Government has no jurisdiction over slavery. Agreed; that is all we want."

That, then, is all that Mr. Hale wants. And Senator Wilson, in a speech, the other day, said: "I would rather drop dead in my place than interfere with slavery in the States." And Charles Sumner says, "freedom is national—slavery sectional." And Gov. Chase's motto is, "No slavery outside of the slave States." Now, who does not know that these men all hate slavery? and yet, when they stand up and utter their sentiments in regard to it, the most they can say is, "No slavery outside of the slave States," which, as Wendell Phillips justly observes, means just this: "Let there be just as much slavery as there is." They do not propose to strike a single blow at it where it is now. There is swelling in the hearts of the people, and deepening everywhere, a hostility to slavery which waits for no time more definite, which will speak only such sentiments as in the mighty day coming, a little handful, strong only in God, will speak all together over the river. With the love of liberty which God had implanted in their souls, they started to make their way to Canada. When they had reached the Ohio side, there, in the Queen City of the West, they fondly hoped to find shelter and kindness for the little hour they needed for rest, and then to hurry from a country, the dissolution of whose Union people fear so much, where human beings charged with no crime find no protection. That mother, that father and their family were overtaken. Was there any strong arm in Ohio to help them? Was there any one who, in trumpet tones, could call people to their rescue? The popular voice in Ohio had only said, "No slavery outside of the slave States." So Margaret Garner was overtaken, and in the wild desperation of the hour, when she knew that there was nothing in the future for her and her's but the life of a slave, she drew ont from her side a dagger she had concealed, and, taking up one little daughter, but three summers old, a child of surpassing beauty, knowing too well from her own experience the life that awaited that child, than which any death was preferable—that mother drew across its throat the sharpened dagger, and the life blood of that little daughter lay in a pool at her feet. She did not stop to see its gasp, but hurried to take another child to send it back also to the angels. The bystanders saw the work of ruin and wrenched the dagger from her hand. Then calling to her husband's mother, "Help, oh help me," she cried, "save this child from being made a slave." A billet of wood was the only weapon within her reach, and, maddened by the dreadful torture of slavery, she seized it and tried to take the life of that other child. I was present when the Court held its session. The living children were brought into the Court, and there I saw the fresh marks made by that mother on her little child. I went and stood beside that mother. I took her hand, hardened by unrequited toil, in mine, and said, "Margaret, we are glad that with the Constitution against you, the law against you and the Court against you, one of your children has found its freedom with the angels." For a moment her lip quivered and her cheek grew dark with the agony which no word could speak, and she raised her dark eyes so full of despair, and said, "I did n't know what might happen to her here, but now I know where she is." And as I stood by the side of her so powerless, with one babe on her knee and two little ones at her side, I saw on one side the slave Commissioner, and the Marshal on the other; a half-a-score of deputies guarding that woman, lest by some desperate effort she should force her way from that crew and escape. And to guard her the more securely, the stairway was thronged with the most ruffianly looking men I ever saw, all sworn as special marshals to help in the rendition of Margaret to slavery. I asked her if there was anything we could do for her. As she held my hand in here all the response she made was to grasp my hand still tighter, expressing by that detaining grasp more than she could have done by words. I know well what she wanted. It was not that we should say, "no more slave States," but that going up and down, and scattering fire and wide on the nation's heart the living coals of truth, we should arouse such a public sentiment, that slavery, exposed to the withering scorn of the people, could not find room to breath (applause). Then Margaret Garner will need no more of you or of me, for, her humanity recognised, standing up as a human being, she can make her way in the world as you and I make ours.

I stood again by the grated bars where she was confined, and taking her hand I bade her have courage if it were possible.

Again she went on her way down the river in chains, with her babe in her arms. The fearful tragedy seemed to be playing on. The boat in which she was sailing ran into another boat and sank. Margaret and her babe, together with the whole crew, were plunged into the river. Oh, that little baby, that sat on her knee in the Court-room in innocent unconsciousness, patting its mother's cheek! Was it wrong, was it wicked for her to abandon that little babe to the waters? With one gurgling groan that babe went down, and Margaret clapped her hands with joy that that babe too had gone to God.

Again that mother goes on her way New Orleans with such emotions as you and I can understand. She is brought back by a requisition from Gov. Chase; but it is unavailing; again she is carried away to the Southern prison-house.

I heard the law expounded in the Court upon that trial, and the only strong defence in her favour was made, based upon the Constitution and the atrocious Fugitive Slave law. And, as I heard it, oh, deeper than I can express it, I said, curses on that Constitution, curses on that law.

Oh, that mother, maddened, frenzied, when too human a task unnamed
These and thy hrood of nestlings, till thy anguished spirit dared
Send to God, uncalled, one darling life that round thine own did twine;
what shall they say to thee when, stripped of all disguise, we stand before our common Father? Can they plead either Church, or Union, or Constitution?

Now, the one word I have come here to say is this, and I want to say it emphatically to women. I know you are disfranchised, but do not think for that reason that there is nothing for you to do. I say, then, to you who are mothers, by all that Margaret Garner suffers to-day, by all she has suffered in the agony which impelled her to do the deed she has done, see to it that in spite of law and in spite of everything that weighs down upon the slave, you make common cause with those who are at work to root out the system of slavery. I know there is no more tender cord than a mother's love. If sickness threatens your child, you summon physician and friends, and your only word is, "show me some way to save my child from the grave." But so dreadful is slavery that all that Margaret Garner says is, "show me some way to hide my child in the grave that she may escape from the evils that impend over her." Go then, mothers, to the Anti-Slavery Office, there you will find Anti-Slavery Tracts by thousands. Take them, and wherever you find an empty hand put into it a tract. It is not, as was truly said by Mr. Remond, it is not the logic of the head that people want; it is the logic of the heart that is needed now; for there is not a man or woman living who does not know that the system of disfranchising a large stripendous wrong, and ought immediately to cease to be. Then carry to the heart that which makes the head right. These Anti-Slavery Tracts which shall go forth with thoughts that breathe and words that burn will help to create just that public sentiment which we need.

A Richmond paper complains that Horace Greeley rolls in his carriage in New York because he is an Abolitionist, while John Mitchel, because he was the champion of slaveholding, lives in indigence on his farm in Tennessee. We want more of that public sentiment which makes John Mitchel ashamed to live here. Merchants, you never ought to sell a bale of goods without ought to put up a piece of tract. Physician, you never anti-slavery tract. Minister, you ought to put one into home a hat without putting a tract in the crown. Men and women in every department of life, here is a field for you to work in. Like the snow flakes gently falling, so will these tracts scattered abroad diffuse the pure principles of humanity over the land. They will reach a thousand homes where the voice of the anti-slavery speaker is never heard and where an anti-slavery newspaper never goes. The little tract is God's messenger. It is your duty to help create such a public sentiment that the merchant will find that he can no longer say, "We can't afford to let you succeed." That is not a truly anti-slavery feeling which says "Let not slavery go into Kansas." True anti-slavery feeling is that which undertakes to root out slavery where it is, and not merely to prevent it from going where it is not. So long as we find fugitive slaves held to trial and without judge or jury sent back to bondage we have a great work to do. Margaret Garner was tried by a Commissioner—a man who listens not to the voice of Him who sits in the circle of the heavens bidding us to execute judgment in the morning and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hands of his oppressor, but one who simply squares his conscience to the law of the Constitution. Such men have yet to learn that there is n law higher than the edicts of men—a law that claims our obedience and that calls upon us to trample under foot all laws made by men in contravention of God's law.

We are not many who are engaged in this crusade against slavery, but we do not require to be many. Truth is mighty; what we need is to give it utterance. We need to have the truth uttered, that there is no safety or security in compromises with slavery. I stand appalled to see how generally the idea is prevailing that our only present duty is, not to let slavery go any further. Passing on the railroad the other day, in Ohio, I heard a man, a member of Congress (Mr. McMullen, of Virginia), boasting that he was a slaveholder. He began a discussion on the subject of slavery. A true Abolitionist present declared himself opposed to slavery everywhere. Another person joining in the discussion said, "Sir, I am not like my abolition friend here; I don't care a copper for the niggers; but I don't like when your slaves run away to be compelled to catch him and pay the bill besides." That was all he cared about it; so fearfully low is the public sentiment. Let us make our war against slavery everywhere, and if traffic must cease and the place of worship be closed in consequence, so let it be. The time was once when Cassandra Southwick, a daughter of New England, was offered to be sold as a slave. You remember the reply of the captain who was temp ted to carry her to a slave market. The staunch, stern "old salt" said, as paraphrased by the poet:

"Pile my ship with bars of silver,
Pack with coins of Spanish gold,
From keelpiece up to deck-plank
The roomage of her hold;
By the living God who made me,
I would sooner in your bay
Sink ship, and crew, and cargo,
Than bear this child away."
(Applause.)

There was found a captain in whom manhood was superior to dollars. So I believe that even in the cold heart of Trade the sparks of manhood can be kindled so that, like your own Bowen & McNamee, merchants will declare their goods for sale and not their principles (applause). But Trade will be able to say that only when you have heaped around it coals so burning that, even in, the marts of business, perpetual incense shall arise to freedom's God. I believe, too, the religious sentiment of the country, now offering its worship to the unknown God, not the God of freedom or of justice, can be made to sympathize with the millions now suffering with Margaret Garner. When men find that they can keep their churches only when Margaret's heart is bleeding, like true Christians they will let the church go, and take up that suffering victim, and build up a new church, in which humanity, irrespective of color or condition, shall be recognised, and all live of colour or condition, shall be recognised, and all live of colour or condition, shall be recognised, and all live of colour or condition, shall be acknowledged as brethren and children of one God our Father (applause).

The PRESIDENT—Ladies and gentlemen: The fanaticism, and infidelity, and treason which are hateful to the traffickers in slaves and the souls of men must be well pleasing to God, and are indications of true loyalty to the cause of liberty. I have the pleasure of introducing to you a very excellent fanatic, a very good infidel, and a first rate traitor, in the person of Theodore Parker, of Boston (great applause).

SPEECH OF THEODORE PARKER.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: After that trinitarian introduction, in which I am presented before you as an anti-slavery nature in three persons—a fanatic, an infidel and a traitor—I am sure I shall bring my welcome along with me (laughter). And yet I come under great disadvantages, for I follow one whose colour is more than the logic which his cause didn't need (alluding to Mr. Remond), and another whose sex is more eloquent than the philosophy of noblest men (referring to Mrs. Blackwell), whose very word has in it the wild witchery which takes captive your heart. I am neither an African nor a woman (laughter). I shall speak, therefore, somewhat in the way of logic—something also, perhaps, of philosophy.

Allow me to say, however, still further, by way of introduction, that I would not weary your ears at all this morning were it not that another man, your friend and mine, Wendell Phillips, lies sick at home. I come after an African, and after a woman, and in the place of Wendell Phillips.

I shall ask your attention to some thoughts on the present aspects of the anti-slavery enterprise and the forces which work therefor.

In all great movements of mankind there are three special works to be done, so many periods of work, and the same number of classes of persons therein engaged.

First is the work of sentiment. The business is to produce the right feeling, a sense of lack and a feeling of desire for the special thing. The aim is to produce a sense of need and also a feeling of want. That is the first period.

The next period is that of ideas, where the work is to furnish the thought of what is wanted—a distinct, precise, adequate idea. The sentiment must precede the thought, for the primitive thing in all human conduct is a feeling; everything begins in a spontaneous emotion.

The third work and act is a period of action, where the business is to make the thought the thing, to organize it into institutions. The idea must precede the nation, else man begins to build and is not able to finish; he runs before he is sent; he is sent and does not know where he is going, or the way there.

Now, these three special works go on in the anti-slavery movement; there are these three periods observable; and three classes of persons engaged in these various works. The first is to excite the anti-slavery feeling; the next to furnish the anti-slavery idea; and the third is to make that thought the thing—to organize the idea into institutions which shall be as wide as the idea and fully adequate to express the feeling itself.

The primitive thing is to arouse a sense of humanity in the whites which should lead us to abolish this wickedness. Another way would be to arouse a sense of indignation in the persons who suffered the wrong—in the slave—and to urge him himself to put a stop to hearing the wickedness.

Two things there were which hindered this thing being attempted. First, the anti-slavery leaders were non-resistants; they said it is wrong for the black man to break the arm of the oppressor, and we will pray God to break it; the slaves must go free without breaking it themselves. That was the reason why the appeal was not made to the slave. The leaders were non-resistants; some of them covered with a Quaker hat, some of them [illegible] to Mr. Garrison) not covered by any covering [illegible]

The other reason was, we were [illegible] cans—men not very good at the sword. If the case had been other—if it had been three and n half millions of Anglo-Saxons—the appeal would not have been to the oppressor to leave off oppressing, but to the victim to leave off hearing the oppression. For, while the African is not very good with the sword, the Anglo-Saxon is something of a master with that ugly weapon; at any rate, he knows how to use it. If the Anglo-Saxon had n't been a better fighter than the African, slave ships would fill this city of Sandy Hook and Boston bay; they would not take pains to go to the Gulf of Guinea. If the three and n half millions of slaves had been white men, with this dreadful Anglo-Saxon blood in their bosoms, do you suppose the affair at Cincinnati would have turned out after that sort? Do you believe Gov. Chase would have said, "No slavery outside of the slave States, but inside of the slave States just as much enslavement of Anglo-Saxon men as you please"? Why, his head would not have been on his shonlders twenty-four hours after he had said it. In the State of Ohio, when Margaret Garner was surrendered up, there were 400,000 able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45; there were half a million of fire-locks in that State; and if that woman had been the representative of three and a half millions of white persons held as slaves, every one of those muskets would have started into life, and 400,000 men would have come forth, each man with a fire-lock on his shoulder, and then 100,000 women would have followed, bringing the rest of the muskets. That is what the state of things would have been if she had been a white woman and not a black one. We should not then have asked Quakers to lead in the greatest enterprise in the world; the leaders would have been soldiers—I mean such men as your fathers and my fathers, who didn't content themselves with asking Great Britain to leave off oppressing them. They asked that first; and when Great Britain said, "Please God, we never will," what did Jonathan say? "Please God, we will make you," and Jonathan did it (laughter). "Gods," we would have said, "can a Saxon people long debate which of the two to choose, slavery or death? No, let us rise at once, gird on our swords, and, at the head of our remaining troops, attack the foe." That would have been the talk. Meetings would have been opened with prayers of men who trusted in God and kept their powder dry likewise.

But in this case it was otherwise. The work has not been to arouse the indignation of the enslaved, but to stir the humanity of the oppressor, to touch his conscience, his affection, his religious sentiments.

And it has been very fortunate for us that this great enterprise fell into the hands of just such men as these—that it was not soldiers that engaged in it, but Quakers. By and by, if my thoughts don't wander too much, I will show you why.

The attempt was made at first, and by that gentleman too (pointing to Mr. Garrison), with others, to arouse the anti-slavery feeling in the actual slaveholders at the South. You know what followed. He and every one who attempted it there were driven over the border. Then attempted it there were driven over the border. Then attempted it there were driven over the border. Then the attempt was carried on at the North, and there the attempt was considered; for it is exceedingly important to get a right anti-slavery feeling at the North. And why? Two-thirds of the population is at the North; three-fourths of the property is at the North; four-fifths of the education is at the North; and I suppose sixth-sevenths of the Christianity (applause); and one of these days it may be found out that seven-eighths of the courage is at the North also (applause). I do not say it is, but it may so turn out. So much for the matter of the sentiment.

Now look at the next point. If the sentiment be right, then the mind is to furnish the idea. But a statement of the idea before the sentiment is fixed helps excite the feeling, and so a great deal has been done to spread abroad the anti-slavery idea, even amongst persons who

(Continued on Fourth Page.)

with any foreign power every Northern State would come with alacrity to the support of the slaveholding States. And this was Mr. Pool, one of those Northern politicians whom Mr. Parker eulogized, this morning, as one of the stannch friends of freedom!

Mr. STEPHEN F. ANDREWS said he could take the oath to support the United States Constitution, even if understanding it just as S. S. Foster does, and with the full determination in his mind, at the time he took the oath, not to comply with a single provision in it which he deemed wrong. He should justify the act thus—the high and common sense recognise the fact, that a man is not held to fulfil certain promises because made under physical constraint and duress; so he should argue that his oath was taken under a *moral* duress.

C. C. BURLEIGH remarked briefly on a few points in Mr. Foster's speech. He thought there was a decided and marked growth of anti-slavery in the country.

The Society adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock. P.M.

EVENING.—The Society met according to adjournment, a very large audience being present, and listened with the closest attention to a most able and eloquent address, relating to the question of Kansas in part, but having a far more comprehensive reach, from Rev. THEODORE PARKER, of Boston, continued until 10 o'clock, when the Society adjourned to Thursday, 10 o'clock, A.M.

THURSDAY.

The Society met at 10 o'clock, A.M., at the City Assembly Rooms. The President in the chair.

Mr. GARRISON desired to call attention to the gross misrepresentations of our meetings that had appeared in one or more of the papers. He said there were men who made it their business to come to our meetings and take advantage of our proffered kindness, in providing tables and other accommodations for reporters of the press, to caricature our proceedings. Such men were not gentlemen, but blackguards. The New York *Herald* was an illustration of the blackguardism to which he referred, but nothing better could be expected from that paper with its present proprietorship and management.

S. J. MAY thought the papers that had given unfair reports should be designated; for while the *Herald* and *Sun* have grossly misrepresented our proceedings, the New York *Daily Times* had given a very fair report.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND referred to the disgraceful language of the New York *Sun*, and denounced its editor as a slaveholder and a villain at heart.

Mr. GARRISON, on behalf of the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions:

9. Resolved, That the strength and success of slavery lie not in its principles—for it is most unprincipled; nor in its resources—for they are few and poor; nor in its fruits—for they are frightfully impoverishing, profligate and tyrannical; nor in the number of actual slaveholders—for it is vastly outnumbered by the non-slaveholders, but solely in Northern selfishness and corruption; complexional hatred, political and religious affiliation, and constitutional co-operation; hence the work of emancipation lies north of Mason and Dixon's line —at our own doors.

10. Resolved, That so long as slaveholding is regarded at the North as compatible with a Christian profession; so long as abolitionism is branded as an "infidel" movement; so long as the Bible continues to be interpreted in favor of slavery, and not against it, as the inspired word of God; so long as church fellowship and denominational unity exist between the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists of the North and South, the Slave Power will the Slave Power succeed in lengthening its cords and strengthening its stakes, and accomplishing all its purposes, however desperate and diabolical.

11. Resolved, That (asking for the sake of argument for exceptional cases) the American Church continues to be "the bulwark of American slavery," and, therefore, impure in heart, hypocritical in profession, dishonest in practice, brutal in spirit, merciless in purpose —a curse, and not a blessing, to the community in which it exists.

12. Resolved, That the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in giving its sanction to the horrible act of making man the property of man; that the "American Tract Society," in refusing to utter a single word of rebuke to slavery, and carefully expurgating its publications of every word that might give offence to Southern menstealers; that the American Bible Society, in making no protest against a system and statutes whereby it is prohibited from circulating the Bible among millions of our fellow-countrymen, while it honours and clothes with official power the very men who have interposed an insurmountable barrier to the free circulation of the Scriptures; that the American Home Missionary Society, in sending forth a peace vote in the midst of a reign of terror, leaving its multitudinous victims to grope their way into eternity in heathenish darkness; that the American Sunday School Union, in studiously refraining from exhibiting the horrors and blasphemies of the slave system for the benefit of the rising generation, and under such control, are each and all convicted of the vilest hypocrisy and the most astonding wickedness, and it is equally a sin and a shame to contribute to their funds or to give them any countenance whatever.

13. Resolved, That the managers of these powerful religious bodies are the most despicable of all time-servers and trimmers; that their religious professions are the acme of brazen impudence; and that they belong to the class whom Jesus denounced as "whited sepulchres, vipers and serpents, who wolven in sheep's clothing"—Pharisees and hypocrites, who compass sea and land to make one proselyte.

14. Resolved, That in the re-appointment of the Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, of Boston, the author of that atrocious work, "A South Side View of Slavery," as one of its Publishing Committee, the American Tract Society, meeting yesterday, in this city, and in its refusal to bestow a word of censure upon that committee for modifying its publications, so as to give a false view to the South, the American Tract Society has shown itself to be incorrigibly base in heart, and inhuman in spirit, and leaves every man henceforth who shall extend to it his aid and fellowship utterly without excuse.

SYDNEY H. GAY, Esq., Assistant Treasurer, presented the following Abstract of the Treasurer's Report for the past year:

The American Anti-Slavery Society in account with F. Jackson.

		Dr.	
May, 1855,	To Standard Account, - - -		$7,109 72
1856,	To Advocate, - - -		5,659 53
	To Expense Account, - - -		1,488 57
	To Publication Account, - - -		1,560 12
	To Balance to New Account, - - -		4,076 04
			$19,893 98
		Cr.	
May, 1855,	By Balance from old Account, - - -		$4,963 83
10	By Donations and Standard Account, - - -		12,862 91
May, 1856.	By Publication Account, - - -		76 95
			$17,893 19

E. E.
New York, May 1st, 1856. S. H. GAY, Assistant Treasurer.

I have examined the above account and the vouchers, and found it to be correct.

Mr. GAY spoke with regret of the absence of the Treasurer, Francis Jackson, whose presence among us we miss for the first time for twenty years. He would take the liberty, he added, of reading a passage from a private letter from Mr. Jackson, which he was sure would be heard with interest. He says:

"I am not now well enough to risk a journey to New York, and fear I shall not be be with you on our Anniversary day. My friends tell me that they all have a right to my services, but I only claim the so called prudence, they now insist that I must take some lessons at that.

"That, then, will be the first time I have missed the Anniversary Meeting for twenty years, and I shall regret it more than any one of you, not the least of which would be to lose the opportunity to take the hands, and look into the faces of those old friends of the slave, who have stood by him in twenty pitched battles with your proslavery opponents. I hope you will not forget to remember me in your purse. Please, therefore, pledge for me two hundred dollars, that being my usual contribution."

Mr. GAY stated that the Annual Report of the Executive Committee (which report, we may mention, has been prepared with great care and faithfulness by Mr. Gay himself), was nearly ready for publication, and soon would be issued from the press.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., read a brief statement of the operations of the Society during the past year, relating to the Lecturing Agents employed, the fields of labour occupied, the Tracts published and distributed, the colporteurs engaged in that work, and the pressing necessity of additional donations to the Tract Treasury, now nearly exhausted.

It may be stated, said Mr. GAY, that this brief statement which Mr. May has read, will be incorporated in the Annual Report.

LUCRETIA MOTT, of Philadelphia, suggested that, as the time was short, and the topics of interest, and particularly those of an immediate business character were numerous, the speakers should limit themselves as much as they conveniently could in regard to time occupied by their remarks.

MARCUS R. ROBINSON, of Ohio, and AARON M. POWELL, of New York, made interesting statements of the hopeful fields for anti-slavery culture which were now to be found in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, and other Western States.

REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, of Jersey City, was then introduced to the meeting, by the President. In a very logical, profound and eloquently-expressed speech, Mr. F. held the attention of the audience in the closest manner for upwards of an hour. [This speech we hope to lay before our readers and the public in full, in a future paper.]

Mr. QUINCY, after a few remarks correcting one or two not essential mis-statements of facts, expressed the great pleasure with which he had listened to the admirable speech which Mr. Frothingham had delivered; and concluded with moving—if there were no objection, as there was an unusual course—that Mr. Frothingham be respectfully requested to write out the address which he has this morning made to us, that it may be laid before a larger audience than has this morning heard it, either by publication in THE STANDARD, or in some other way, as the case should be found practicable. The motion was seconded, and, after some remarks from Mr. GARRISON, expressive of his admiration of Mr. Frothingham's address and the sadness of heart he had felt (as he listened to it) that every minister was not equally honest and faithful, in which case slavery could live but a little time, was adopted by acclamation.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER spoke of the many admirable sentiments in Mr. Frothingham's address, and said he had embodied one of those sentiments, which had been received by the audience with special approbation, in a resolution (though not expressed in the beautiful language of the speaker) which he desired to offer, as follows:

Resolved, That the first and most important work of the Society at the present time is to convince the entire community that the anti-slavery of any and every political party which acknowledges allegiance and promises support to the Federal Government is necessarily tainted and spurious, and that the nearer its resemblance to that genuine, the more injurious is it to the cause of freedom, because the more likely to deceive the honest and true-hearted.

Mr. ADDINGTON, of Buffalo, said he felt that the cause of freedom was in very great peril, in our day. In illustration, he spoke of the course of the American Tract Society, in its pro-slavery truckling, its profound indifference to the crime and wrong of slavery; and even in its countenance, of slaving off, for an entire year, all definite and Christian action about this great and vital matter.

Adjourned to 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON.—The President in the chair.

The resolutions now before the Society were, by request, again read.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the committee on the Nomination of Officers, reported the following List of Officers for the Society during the year to come:

President.—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Massachusetts.

Vice-Presidents.—Peter Libbey, Maine; Luther Molendy, New Hampshire; Theodore B. Moses, New Hampshire; Jehiel C. Coffin, Vermont; Francis Jackson, Massachusetts; Edmund Quincy, Massachusetts; Asa Fairbanks, Rhode Island; James B. Whitcomb, Connecticut; Samuel J. May, New York; Cornelius Bramhall, New York; Amy Post, New York; Pliny Sexton, New York; Lucretia Mott, Pennsylvania; Robert Purvis, Pennsylvania; Edward M. Davis, Pennsylvania; Thomas Whitson, Pennsylvania; George Atkinson, New Jersey; Alfred Gibbs Campbell, New Jersey; Thomas Garrett, Delaware; Thomas Donaldson, Ohio; William Stedman, Ohio; Benjamin Bowne, Ohio; William Hearn, Indiana; William Hopkins, Indiana; Joseph Merritt, Michigan; Thomas Chandler, Michigan; Cyrus Fuller, Michigan; John Wichell, Illinois; James A. Shedd, Iowa; Caleb Green, Minnesota; Georgiana B. Kirby, California.

Corresponding Secretary.—Sydney H. Gay, New York City.

Recording Secretary.—Wendell Phillips, Boston.

Treasurer.—Francis Jackson, Boston.

Business Committee.—William Lloyd Garrison, Francis Jackson, Edmund Quincy, Maria Weston Chapman, Wendell Phillips, Anne Warren Weston, Sydney H. Gay, Ellen Lee Fallen, James Russell Lowell, Charles F. Hovey, Samuel May, Jr., William I. Bowditch.

The report being submitted to the Society, it was unanimously accepted, and the persons therein named duly elected as officers.

Mr. GARRISON, in behalf of the Business Committee, reported the following additional resolution:

15. Resolved, That in consenting to those compromises in the Constitution by which a slave oligarchy was allowed in Congress, the fugitive slave clause in any part of the country, and the coasting the foreign slave trade protected for twenty years, and the whole military power of the government pledged to suppress a slave insurrection, our fathers committed a grievous sin, and trampled under foot the most sacred declaration of the Rights of Independence; that in giving their adhesion to such a compact, their descendants are committing a still more grievous sin, in view of the growth and power of the Slave Power; and, therefore, that there can be no true loyalty to freedom or unswerving fidelity to the anti-slavery cause short of the hearty and consistent adoption of the doctrine: "No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically."

C. L. REMOND urged that a greater effort be made, than has ever before been made, to carry the doctrines and principles of Peace into daily life and practice among men. He expressed his own readiness to aid in carrying on a series of one hundred Anti-Slavery Conventions, and he knew at least of one other who was ready to go forth.

SAMUEL MAY, JR., spoke of a letter from Illinois which had recently come to the Executive Committee, calling urgently that a corps of Lecturing Agents might be sent into that State during the ensuing season.

M. R. ROBINSON, of Ohio, rejoiced in the proposition which Mr. Remond had made, and pledged, on behalf of the anti-slavery people of the West, the fullest co-operation it was in their power to give.

LUCY STONE BLACKWELL appealed in a direct and earnest manner to the audience present, for pecuniary aid to the treasury of the Society.

REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, inquired what was the exact purpose of the Society in regard to efforts for keeping slavery out of Kansas and making it a free State. Mr. M. went on to urge that we should not forget that it is by *gradual steps* by which success is to be reached.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, JR., after adverting to the long and intimate connection between the two races which he had derived from that intercourse, said he thought that both duty and a sound and just expediency utterly forbade our identifying ourselves, for an instant, with the mere *non-extension of slavery movement*. Especially would he protest against our identifying ourselves, as a Society, with the Kansas Free State movement, so long as it stands on its present low and compromising level. Of course, *of course* as a Society and as individuals, we desire to see Kansas a Free State, truly and honestly such. But, what is the present state of the Kansas question, as the Free State men present it to us? Why! They have, by a decided popular majority, adopted a vote calling upon the first Legislature which shall meet to exclude all coloured persons from the State of Kansas! This is a measure of shameful *compromise* and prejudice against colour, which we, as Abolitionists, have always held in the very handmaid of slavery, and against which we have laboured and toiled so hard for so many years—and no one more faithfully than Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, one of the oldest soldiers in this good war. Now, shall we leave this position, and go and place ourselves by the side of those who are meanly stooping before this prejudice of colour? God forbid! We cannot join the present movement for Kansas, *because it is false in principle*. That is sufficient reason why we should take no part in it. Mr. May said he was also requested to go round for Kansas; he had given money for the purchase of rifles for emigrants to Kansas, and had indeed others to give; but not so, wholly from feelings of sympathy in their personal danger. He would not, however, for that reason be identified with their prescription of the coloured man. It is a clear question of Duty and of Right. But even on the ground of policy—of a wise policy—he was equally convinced that we can help the cause of true and ultimate freedom in Kansas unspeakably better, by stirring God's entire Northern mind to the declaration that no people here, Free State men included (and not forgetting the politicians of the Republican party), than we possibly can if one and all of us should take up the cry of Non-Extension—one thing at a time—availability, &c., &c. Let it be our part, guided by Eternal Truth, to create an anti-slavery atmosphere in all the Northern States, all around Kansas, and in it too, so pure and true, that slavery's hateful form shall find no hiding-place and utterly disappear and perish.

S. S. FOSTER considered it very important to decide how the anti-slavery funds should be expended, as well as how they are to be raised. Should we cooperate with the Republican party; or should we oppose it. If it be anti-slavery then I will give it my most hearty support; if it is pro-slavery then I shall do all in my power to oppose it. It must be one or the other; it cannot be both. He believed it pro-slavery; that Seward, Sumner, Hale and Giddings are hand in hand with the veriest slaveholders in this country. He denied that these men were honest in the position they occupied, amid all the light by which they are surrounded.

This was objected to by H. C. HOWELLS, who arose and called Mr. Foster to order. Mr. F. was sustained, and proceeded in a very earnest and eloquent manner to show the truthfulness of his positions.

C. C. BURLEIGH came forward to reply to Mr. Foster, but gave way for Mr. GARRISON who then read as a substitute for the resolution offered by Mr. Foster this morning, the following:

Resolved, That, while we fully appreciate every earnest effort made by the liberty-loving people to prevent the introduction of slavery into Kansas, our change against it is, that it swears to uphold and support all the provisions of a pro-slavery Constitution, by which an oligarchy of three hundred and fifty thousand kidnappers are enabled to bring into bondage a million and a half human beings, or their children; that it disclaims any wish or intention to change the Constitution in these particulars; and, therefore, to this fearful extent it is a pro-slavery party.

Mr. BURLEIGH resumed, showing why, in his opinion, it brought in a wrong position, the Republicans were there honestly.

ABBY K. FOSTER said that though she had not intended to say a word, she deemed the present a very important crisis, and saw that many were in danger of being led astray from true and uncompromising principles. Compromise was fatal. The Republican party is no higher than the Whig or Democratic parties eight or ten years ago. The position of the Free Soilers is most dangerous of all. Many of the Free Soilers were honest men, but were to our cause. They were to our movement, what respectable, moderate drinkers are now to the Temperance cause. We should keep our standard high, and upon our banner inscriptions of absolute truth and justice. A very interesting discussion then followed, upon Mr. Foster's resolution, and that offered by Mr. Garrison as a substitute. Among those who took part in it were Messrs. Garrison, Foster, M. R. Robinson, S. J. May, C. C. Burleigh, Abby Kelley Foster and others.

On motion of S. H. GAY both resolutions were laid upon the table.

The resolutions reported by the Business Committee were then adopted.

The meeting then adjourned *sine die*.

☞ The whole amount collected by the Finance Committee was $165 70. Pledges, payable during the year, $662 00. Collection at the door of the Hall, Wednesday evening, $79 34.

SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
AARON M. POWELL, } Assistant Secretaries.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Pres.

CASH

Received at the Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mrs. Daniel Trimble,	$10	Mary A. W. Johnson,	$1 00
Maria Marriott,	5 00	Eli Thayer,	1 00
Lucia Marriott,	5 00	Samuel Longfellow,	1 00
Jan Rahman,	5 00	Sarah Scramm,	1 00
Samuel J. May,	5 00	Joseph A. Howland,	1 00
J. D. Yates,	5 00	Joseph Carpenter,	1 00
William H. Topp,	5 00	Esther Carpenter Pierce,	1 00
John Ketcham,	5 00	L. Crandom,	1 00
Samuel Ketcham,	5 00	Elizabeth R. Post,	1 00
Joseph Carpenter,	5 00	Catharine M. Post,	1 00
Joseph Post,	4 00	Lydia Wilbor,	1 00
Mary W. Post,	4 00	T. D. Hudson,	1 00
William H. Burr,	3 00	Mrs. Hudson,	1 00
Lucy Colemen,	3 00	E. D. Hudson, Jr.,	1 00
Charles F. Hovey,	2 00	Sarah Hudson,	1 00
Edmund Quincy,	2 00	Mrs. James Sherman,	1 00
Cornelius Bramhall,	2 00	William P. Coles,	1 00
Charles F. Hovey,	2 00	Lucretia Mott,	1 00
Marietta Richmond,	2 00	L. S. Doane,	1 00
Amy Post,	2 00	E. Doane, Jr.,	1 00
David Ketcham,	2 00	Catharine Willis,	1 00
S. C. Barton,	2 00	Maria E. Whitcomb,	1 50
Henrietta W. Johnson,	2 00	Mary C. L. Reason,	0 50
Joseph E. Busby,	1 50	A Friend,	0 50
S. Fayerweather,	1 00	Otis R. Potter,	3 00
Captain Townsend,	1 00	F. S. Chabot,	3 00
Israel Post,	1 00	Sundry,	57 21
Amy Post,	1 00	Interest due Wed-	
Oliver Johnson,	1 00	nesday evening,	79 34
J. M. McKim,	1 00		
			$366 55

PLEDGES

To the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Francis Jackson,	$200 00	Samuel May, Jr.,	$26 00
L. Wetmore,	200 00	Rowland Johnson,	10 00
Gay Haven,	100 00	Robert J. Johnston,	2 00
C. F. Hovey,	100 00	John Reid,	1 00
Lucretia Mott,	25 00		
			$661 00

THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE NEW YORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

NOTWITHSTANDING the inclemency of the weather, a very considerable audience assembled in the City Assembly Rooms on Thursday evening, May 8.

SYDNEY H. GAY, President of the Society, took the chair. He stated that this, as the audience was, no doubt, aware, was an auxiliary Society to the American Anti-Slavery Society. Its purpose and plans, therefore, it was unnecessary to state. He would introduce as the first speaker Wm. Wells Brown, a fugitive slave.

WM. WELLS BROWN—Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Those of you who have been here during yesterday and to-day will hear witness that the several speakers who have addressed you have spoken the truth as it regards the iniquity of slavery. It can scarcely be otherwise, however, that those of us who understand the workings of slavery in the Southern States will bring before you the wrongs of the slave as we could wish. Language will not allow us; and if we had the language, the fastidiousness of the people would not permit our portraying them. Slavery has justly been termed the crime of crimes. Man cannot indict upon his fellow-man a greater crime than to enslave him, for by so doing he not only injures his fellow-man, but himself as well. It is not possible for one part of mankind to enslave another portion without ruining themselves. That may be seen in the workings of slavery in this country.

Every one who speaks of the condition of the slave will tell you of his ignorance and degradation. This ignorance and debasement necessarily affect the master. The master may get education and refinement, but his relation to the slave is such that he is contaminated. Those of us who have lived in slavery could tell you privately what we cannot tell you publicly of the degradation in the domestic circle of the master. We could tell you of the ignorance of the white people as well as the black. The white children are brought up with the black children—it is not possible to separate them—the slave population communicates itself to them. The child grows up to the age of ten or twelve years; then the master discovers that that son or daughter must be removed to a part of the country where the rough edges that intercourse with the slave children has imparted may be rubbed off. The young man is sent off to the North to get an education; and in coming to your Northern seminaries of learning, among your own sons, he must necessarily rub off those rough edges upon them. And the same is true with regard to the slaveowner's daughter. Thus your children partake of this degradation, vice and ignorance. This is one of the results of your toleration of such a system. A distinguished writer has justly said that no one can fasten the manacle upon the limbs of his neighbour without afterwards inevitably fastening the other end upon his own neck. This is exemplified not only in the slaveholder at the South, but in the people of the North, who have folded their arms and permitted this iniquity to live.

You have, no doubt, all of you, read of the riot that occurred, some three months since, among the students of Columbia College, South Carolina, in which the students drove the police back to their stations, and at length demanded the chief of the police, that they might sacrifice him to their fercity; and when the mayor had called out the military, they could do nothing, and the chief of the police was murdered, with no other policemen. That was a legitimate fruit of slavery. The same spirit was to be seen in the mobs of those ferocious passions. He has been accustomed to kick and drive the black slave about; and when he meets with white persons, he considers them his inferiors, and his passions break forth on the slightest provocation. Northern men complain that they send men to Congress and they exhibit no hackbone—that they don't do the music in the halls of Congress. To send your Northern men to Congress, there to meet the bully, the duellist, the woman-scourger, the gambler, the murderer, is like taking your little son from the nursery and putting him to the city, there he finds a thousand rude boys who insult and abuse him. Men in the South who are accustomed to flog old men and young women, and to sell children from the mother's breast, are more than a match for your Northern man when it comes to bullying and threats. To talk about a good slaveholder is a contradiction. A good slaveholder is a bad man, a Christian slaveholder an infidel, a just slaveholder a thief, for to rob a man of himself is the greatest theft that human being can commit. The South is the great Sodom of this country. I refer to my hand an advertisement, taken from the New Orleans *Picayune*, by which you may see the evidence of what I assert, coming from the slaveholder himself.

"$20 REWARD.—Ran away from the plantation of the undersigned the negro man SATURDAY, a yellow negro, five inches high, about forty years old, and stamped N. E. upon the breast and hands, both small toes cut off. He has a very dark complexion, with eyes small but bright, and a look quite insolent."

The slaveowner has the audacity to say that his slave has a look quite insolent. I rather think if the Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, who has just been reelected as a member of the Board of Directors of the Tract Society, and who has said so much Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins, would look so smiling, should happen to be sold down the South, he stamped with the letters "N. E.," and have his toes cut off—I rather think he would look quite as insolent as that "very dark-complexioned" man mentioned in this advertisement (laughter and applause).

I saw in a newspaper published in my town, St. Louis —for I happen to have come from among the "border ruffians" (laughter)—an editorial announcement that a man who owned a slave there, a short time since, had caused that slave to be branded upon the right cheek with the letter corresponding for life," and the editor spends a great deal of invective and indignation upon this owner of the slave, saying that the slave was a good servant and had committed no offence to merit such treatment. The crime of this victim was, being born with a white skin, for the editor tells us that he had straight hair and would pass for a white man. Being white, it was easy for him to escape, and hence the necessity of branding these words on his cheek, so as to prevent his running away. Perhaps, too, he had too much Anglo-Saxon blood in him to be a submissive slave, as Theodore Parker would say.

Such are the workings of slavery. A slave must always be made to know his place; if it were not so, he could not be kept in his chains. We see the effects of slavery everywhere throughout the North. I saw an illustration of it to-day in your own city. A very nice-looking coloured lady, a stranger in this city, no doubt, who was not aware that on the Sixth Avenue they have cars appropriated to coloured people, entered a car which was expressly for coloured people, and was rudely thrust from the platform by the conductor, and told that that was not the car for her to ride in. She was considerably lighter in complexion than myself and perhaps as white as some that were seated in the car.

Some year or two back, I landed in this city from a British steamer, having just left England, after having been abroad in different countries in Europe for a number of years, where I was once reminded that I was a coloured person so as that I felt quite free to speak of it in connection with slavery, which existed in democratic America. I intention of calling at a certain hotel, to accommodate myself with the proprietor told me I could not eat there. Said I, "I have got a good appetite, and if you will give me a trial, I rather think I will convince you that I can." "But," said he, "it is not allowable." I did not know what to make of it; I had been away five years, and had forgotten the great power of slavery over the North. I felt insulted. I walked into another eating-house. The proprietor asked me what I wanted. I said I wanted my dinner. "You can't get it here; we don't accommodate niggers." That was the result. I went into a third, with a like result. I then went and stood by a lamp post for some five minutes. I thought of the nineteen years I had worked as a slave; I thought of the glorious Declaration of Independence; I looked around me and saw no less than seven steeples of churches; and I resolved I would have my dinner in the city of New York (applause). I went to another restaurant. I made up my mind what I would do. I saw a vacant plate at a table; I took aim at it. I pulled back the chair, and sat down, turned over the plate, and quite coolly asked for something. I was agitated, and did not know what it was, until I found it on my plate, when I found it was a big pickle (laughter). At any rate I went to work at it. The waiter stared at me. Said I, "Boy, get me something to eat." He stared again, walked to the proprietor, and said something to him, came back and helped me. When I got through my dinner, I went up to the bar, and handed the proprietor a dollar. He took it, and then said, "You have got the greatest impudence of any nigger I have seen for a great while (laughter); and I think I have seen what I did not want to see. Many people sitting at the table, I would have taken you up from that table a little the quickest." "Well, sir," said I, "if you had, you would have taken the table cloth, dishes and all with me. Now, sir, look at me; whenever I come into your dining saloon, the best thing you can do is to let me have what I want to eat quietly. You keep house for the accommodation of the public; I claim to be one of that public."

Some two weeks days after that, I was about to start for Boston; I had n't time to go to that saloon, so I went to a confectionary establishment, and thought I would do with a little pastry. I walked in; a young woman, who attended, came up and said she, "Can't accommodate you, sir." I paid no attention to her, but picked up a knife, and pitched into a piece of pie. Said she, "We can't accommodate you, sir." Said I, "This is very good pastry" (laughter). Then said she, "We don't accommodate niggers." Said I, "Did you make this?" (Laughter). I finished my piece of pie, and ordered a second piece, and by another lady came to me, and said, "Sir, we don't accommodate niggers." Said I, "You give very good accommodations; I shall always patronize you." I finished my third piece of pie, and asked for a glass of soda water. Says she, "Just leave my place, and I will charge you nothing." Said, I "Madam, I expect to pay wherever I get accommodation, but I can't pay for this until you give me a glass of soda water." So I took a chair and sat down, saying I was in no hurry; for I concluded to wait and go on the next train. As soon as she saw I was determined to stay, she said, "You may have your soda water." I drank it and walked out. Now that I grated very hard on my feelings, after being away so long, and forgetting almost everything about the way coloured people were treated in this country.

Such are the workings of slavery, and yet, with all your boasted benevolence and religion, there is scarce a pulpit in New York that has a word to say against these wrongs (applause). Still, such is the compromising character of the American people, that the time will probably come when colonrphobia will become the subject of compromise, even with this religious sentiment. Not long since, a coloured man, of great wealth, came to visit a merchant in one of our eastern cities, on his business connection with this coloured man, had acquired a considerable property, and he invited him to his house, and on Sunday asked him to go to his church. It was one of the fine churches where a coloured face is never seen inside, except, perhaps, to do some menial work. The pew was near the pulpit. When the merchant, with his black friend, entered the pew, the congregation stared. There was no mistake about its being a black man. The minister ascended his pulpit and commenced the services. He did n't discover the black man till he got into the midst of his sermon. It disconcerted him, but he could not go on. He lost his place in his sermon, hesitated, and at length had to slip secondly, and go to thirdly. He made a botch of it and concluded. As soon as service was over, a neighbour of the merchant came to him, and asked him what he meant by bringing a nigger into the church. "Why, it is my pew," said the merchant. "Is that any reason why you must insult the whole congregation?" said the man. "Yes, but he is an educated man," the merchant replied. "What of that?" said the man, "he is black." "But, sir, he is the correspondent of mine, and is worth a million of dollars." "Worth what?" "A million of dollars." "I beg pardon, introduce me to him" (laughter and applause).

Ladies and gentlemen, you may think lightly of these insults and annoyances which the colored people have to endure, but they are felt keenly by us. And if there were nothing else for the people of the North to do, they have enough to revolutionize the public sentiment in this respect. You see nothing of this hatred abroad. A black man is treated in Europe according as he behaves, and not according to his colour. This feeling is one of the great hindrances to the abolition movement. The Colonization Society fosters this hatred and makes itself one of the great props of slavery. There are churches that refuse to open their doors for a meeting in behalf of the slave, but throw them wide open to the Colonization Society, and yet pretend that they are opposed to slavery and in favour of elevating the black man.

The American Anti-Slavery Society is the only one, of all the various societies, of whatsoever name, that meet this week in the city, that goes for the abolition of slavery. We have to look after humanity and try to lift it up in the person of the down-trodden slave. I feel that if those in the Southern States with whom I am identified by complexion could only know of the sentiment and feeling which animates those who take part in this great cause, they would put up their prayer to God for our success (applause).

I speak not for the purpose of making any display of eloquence or rhetoric. Whenever I come before a cultivated audience like this, I remember that I was nineteen years in bondage, and never had a day's schooling in my life, and yet that it is a duty I owe to my enslaved countrymen, to those who are bound to me by tenderest ties, to my God and to my country, to labour in the cause of humanity and remember those in bonds as bound with them. And if I can be the means of helping to remove a single obstacle out of the way of the anti-slavery cause, I shall feel well paid (applause).

Mr. REMOND rose, not to make a speech, but to take some exception to a charge made by Mr. Brown against the slaveholder, which he thought hardly just. The slaveholder was crime enough to answer for besides that of causing prejudice against coloured people. The treatment of the coloured people in the non-slaveholding States was not, in his opinion, as Mr. Brown represented, at the bidding of the slaveholder, but was the result of Northern obsequiousness towards the South, which was entirely voluntary (applause). They hold us, therefore, were not accountable for it nor did the certain most contemptible spirit which was to [illegible] exercised by Northern doughfaces. Whenever a returning refugee should be seen in the Northern States, then the infernal system of slavery would cease to exist in the South. That the working of prejudice was cruel need not be discussed. The experience of Mr. Brown was that of every coloured man in this country. And he [illegible] with some of the anti-slavery friends who maintained that the operation of this prejudice was in keeping with that same spirit of caste which existed in other countries, which compelled certain classes to wear a badge indicating their condition; for the way was open for persons of any complexion to pass from their present to a higher position, whether as a reward of virtue, ability, learning or accomplishment; whereas in this country any such attainments by the coloured man only subjected him to more galling degradation. He desired to say, in conclusion, that however the day should arrive that the citizens of New York would dare to treat the fugitive slave without regard to their colour, that day would witness a uprising of manhood, humanity and decency, which would make this country practically what it was theoretically. Until then it would continue to be, in the estimation of all impartial men throughout the world, a nation of hypocrites, political and religious (applause).

MRS. LUCRETIA MOTT—In our anti-slavery movement we should study to give credit where credit is due as well as censure where censure is due. I think while the last speaker was laying to the charge of the North this prejudice against colour, I felt that it was rather doing injustice to the people of the North by making them sinners above those of the South. I have no doubt if there were similar attempts at the South on the part of the coloured people to enter public conveyances, schools and the favoured pews of churches, on an equality with the whites, there would be found at least as much prejudice there as here: nay, more, for, having this Slave Power with them, they would not only exclude the coloured people from the public conveyances, but would prevent them having any conveyance at all—even a separate car. There are no schools at the South for them, even in a separate capacity; on the contrary, there are laws passed to prevent their education. So it will be found that this prejudice is at least equal in degree at the South. It is true, from the great familiarity of the Southern domestic with the white children, there appears to be less prejudice, but, depend upon it, the prejudice follows the wicked system of oppression as a natural and legitimate result. We may do something to remove this feeling in the North, but it will remain while slavery remains. It is true the labours of the Abolitionists have had the effect to diminish it somewhat, so that in some places coloured children are admitted into the public schools on an equality with the whites, and the coloured people are not excluded from the public conveyances; but their success in this respect will be in small proportion while slavery exists. And while our friend Brown was speaking of the difficulty of getti a meal of victuals in a public place, I asked myself whether he would not have found equal difficulty if whether he would not have found equal difficulty if he had presented himself to enter a merchant's counting-house clerk—whether even an Abolitionist would have be ready to take him by the hand and place him on an equal footing with other of his clerks.

We may incidently help to remove this evil, but we must remember that our aim is directed to the removal of slavery itself. And I rejoice in the evidence that is shown of an increasing interest in this subject. We have been told by some that we had not much to rejoice in as touching the progress of anti-slavery sentiment, but I must believe to the better things—that there is more anti-slavery feeling and preparation to work in this way now than ever before. There is evidence of it in the political world; politicians are considering what can be done for the removal of slavery. Twenty-five years ago, the whole country was asleep with a very few exceptions. Benjamin Lundy's "Genius of Emancipation" had but a very limited circulation, and the labours of John Woolman, in the Society of Friends, were exceedingly limited. The pro-slavery spirit was universal. The subject was hushed up in legislative halls. In 1833, the Convention met and resolved that they would whisper no longer, but lift up their voice like a trumpet and awaken the country from its deep lethargy. And then this most simple truism—that man had no right to property in man—to the shame of the country be it spoken, had to be put forth by public declaration in assembled convention and spread before the people of America. The Colonization Society had existed for years, but they had not looked upon slavery as a great and growing evil, but had rather endeavoured to set the sinner at ease in his sins by tacitly recognising the right of slavery. Now it is not so. It is true, they have not repudiated their first resolve, so far as we know, but they have become a sort of missionary society and appeal to the religious credulity of the people, who are made to believe that slavery is a providential arrangement, out of which good is to grow in the evangelization of Africa, and it is ultimately thereby to come to an end. Twenty years ago, people were just beginning to be made aware that slavery existed in our land. At first, there was but a solitary man in Congress who dared to advocate even the right of petition. Now Congress is overwhelmed with anti-slavery meeting. Then the people defended slavery from the pulpit; now there are few who dare to do it. See, too, how the best writers of the day have enlisted in this cause. Then, let us thank God and take courage that we have [illegible] end our cause shall succeed (applause).

MRS. M., in conclusion, addressed a few words specially to the New York Anti-Slavery Society, exhorting them to raise the standard of principles so pure and so firm that in hiring the politician up to a higher plane, where it would be less inconsistent for him not to speak for the rights of the country.

Mr. GARRISON—Mr. Chairman, what need is there of my adding from my lips on this question. The night is dark and stormy, so that no one might be justified in using the language of the poet, saying,

"In such a night of storm
The cubless regent of the wood
Forgets his instinct for his blood,
And caverns with her foe."

But in spite of the weather, I see before me an intelligent, large and respectable audience. You are stormproof, Mr. Chairman. It seems to me; you do not need a single word on the subject of Anti-Slavery. We shall have fair weather by and by in the city of New York, and a clear Northern sky throughout our land; but till the jubilee comes I anticipate for abolitionism very little of anything else except stormy weather.

Abolitionists have been very strangely held up to public ridicule, as over zealous and fanatical, going altogether too far and too fast, and initiating principles and resorting to measures unheard of. We have originated nothing; we have proclaimed no novel truth. When I was a schoolboy, I used to repeat some beautiful words of Cowper,

"I would not have a slave
To till my ground and fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all his wealth.
That sleeps bought and sold have ever earned
No, dearer sooner freedom is, and in my heart's
Just estimation prized above all price,
I would much rather be myself a slave
And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him."

But I was not taught that that language was fanatical. It was considered as sublime, heroic and God-like. Surely, if that spirit prevailed in our land, slavery would not be

...arried water, bathed his temples, and ...t, when the veteran quickly revived, ...open window in the lobby where he ...fficiently to go to his lodgings. The ...poned the business under consideration; ...returned before the adjournment, and

...nti-Slavery Standard.

...NCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1856.

...ND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—...NTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will hold its ...MELODEON, Boston, on TUESDAY, ...HURSDAY, May 27th, 28th and 29th, ...ck, A. M.

...the growth of the Anti-Slavery move... ...yet come for repose, or relaxation of ...never has there been more need of ...us exertion, unyielding determination, ... than now. Is not the Slave Power ...country, with its grasp upon all the ...ns institutions, having at its command ...Republic to carry forward its fillibus... ...insure the success of "border ruffian... ...inistration unparallelled for its perfidy ...ot the South thrown away her old ...re to be held in slavery because they ...l doomed to servitude as the descend... ...es she not daringly assert, that *the* ...o be made to wear the yoke of bond... ...ae colour of their skin?—that free ...is a failure, and must be superseded by the insti... ...of chattel slavery universally?

...there be an attendance of the friends of freedom at this ...ation proportionate to the solemnity and importance of ...resent crisis.

...g the veteran and eloquent advocates of the slave, who ...articipate in the discussions, may confidently be expected ...r, PARKER

...ssachusetts ...President.

THE ANNIVERSARY.

...The Twenty-Third Anniversary of the American Anti-...very Society was celebrated with all prosperity on the ...esday of the last week. It fully vindicated its ...ished reputation for eminent attractiveness among ...ultitude of Celebrations which crowd that week of ...vals. The living, inhering, immortal spirit which ...was the Anti-Slavery Parent of whatever resistance ...w aroused in various shapes against Slavery, makes ...er fresh and young, and, if not beautiful in all eyes, ...ast deeply interesting to all hearts that feel and minds ...think. The announcement of the occasion filled the ...tiful City Assembly Room to overflowing and com... ...d its enlargement by the removal of a wall of parti... ...which doubled its capacity, and yet hundreds were ...away from the door for want of room. The ...ety having pitched its tent in a Theatre last year, ...up its quarters in a Ball Room this, and it conse... ...d the chamber with a sanctity which few churches in ...ity can claim. It was made for the time a Temple ...iberty and a Church of the Living God, whose ser... ...is Perfect Freedom. When all the Churches in the ...are shut in the face of the Christ of the Nineteenth ...ury and of the American Republic, in the person of ...Slave, they whom the Piety of the country brand as ...cans and Sinners are content to open their doors to ...reception. Whether of the twain in the day of Judg... ...shall receive the greater damnation?

...e Session was fitly inaugurated by the reading of ...ons of the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of the Pro... ...Jeremiah, the denunciations of which seemed to be ...d even more directly at the oppressors and men of ...of this generation than at the stubborn Jews of old. ...prayer by the Rev. Theodore Parker, the Rev. ...el J. May, Mr. Remond, Mrs. Lucy Stone Black... ...Mr. Parker and Mrs. Mott addressed the Meeting ...eminent success, in their differing styles of utterance. ...audience remained patient and attentive to a later ...than usual, and seemed at the last in no haste to ...t. We do not more particularly characterize the ...us speeches as they will be laid more or less at large ...e our readers. It was one of the fullest and most ...actory meetings we have ever held in the city. In ...fternoon, the Society met in the same place for the ...tch of business and the discussion of principles and ...res. Though the attendance was not so great as in ...orning, it was very numerous, and the proceedings ...forward with great unanimity and spirit. In the ...g, the Rev. Theodore Parker delivered an extended ...ss on the Interest of the North in keeping Slavery ...Kansas. It was marked by the breadth of view, ...ality of treatment and raciness of style which dis... ...sh that eminent man, and was listened to with pro... ...attention, only interrupted by irrepressible applause. ...h the night was very wet, the Assembly was large ...ay be taken as another proof of the growing Anti-...y feeling of the city as well as of the fame of the ...r. This speech has been printed *in extenso* in the ...ng *Post* of this city and will be reproduced in our ...ns. Times have certainly had a change come over ...when so eminent and cautious a journal as the *Post* ...ask for the privilege of printing a speech delivered ...the American Anti-Slavery Society.

...ursday, the last day of the Meeting, was extremely ...—a circumstance which told upon the numbers ...t at it, but not at all upon its spirit and enthusiasm. ...due rebukes had been administered to the prints ...Reporters misrepresented and maligned the action ...the character of the meeting, Mr. M. R. Robinson, ...io, Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, made an in... ...ing speech on the condition and needs of the Cause ...e West. He was followed by Mr. Aaron M. Powell, ...e same strain of remark, as to the state and hopes of ...Slavery in Michigan. The Rev. Octavius B. Froth... ...am then addressed the Society in a Speech admirable ...s form and manner and more admirable for its spirit ...substance. It showed a clearness of insight into the ...tery of this Godliness, a severity of logic in tracing ...establishing the nice connections of Slavery with the ...e and the Church, a fearlessness of expression and an ...ance and perfection of rhetorical details which we ...seldom seen equalled and never surpassed in the ...ment of its mighty subject-matter. The Society ...it the uncommon, we believe the unprecedented, com... ...ent of asking a copy for the press, and we hope soon ...able a larger audience than any room can hold to ...y for themselves this excellent performance. Other ...ches were made by various gentlemen, for which we ...our readers to the Report of the Meeting and, after ...ng up collections and pledges, electing Officers and ...ng the Resolutions, the Society adjourned at the close ...he afternoon session, well content with the work they ...done.

...the evening of the same day, in the same place, the ...York City Anti-Slavery Society held its Anniver... ...Addresses were made by Mr. Garrison, Mrs. Mott, ...Brown and others, to a numerous audience with ...ood effect. The weather on this evening was extreme... ...propitious, as it was for the chief of the two days—...withstanding which, the attendance was throughout ...ellent. The attendance at the day sessions was largely ...e up of members of the Society and persons sympa... ...ing with it in its principles and measures. The num... ...of delegates from distant parts of the State was not ...aps so large as it has been at some former Anniver... ...e, but all the States in which there are active move... ...s in the right direction had their representatives at ...true Congress. The private intercourse of the Anti-...ery friends was no unimportant part of the advantage ...eir not neglecting the assembling of themselves toge... ...This incidental good is by no means insignificant. ...ringing face to face those who are engaged in the ...great work, and who know each other by report ...not only the kindly feelings of friendship are culti... ...e and gratified, but positive benefits arise to the En... ...ise from the intercommunion of minds looking on the ...from different points of view. Not only are hearts ...raged and resolutions strengthened, but the necessi... ...of the Cause are made to be better understood and ...possibilities of its advancement to be more thoroughly ...dered. We hope it will be always remembered that ...attendance at the Anniversary and presence at the Business Meetings is but a part of the good which rewards the trouble and expense of an attendance at our great Meetings. And we trust that they will go on growing in stature as well as in grace and in favour with God and men from year to year.

We believe that all who assisted at this Anniversary went up from it strengthened in heart and hope. And wherefore not? In Congress, the Abolitionists have banished every other subject and made the Idea which they have evoked the overshadowing and controlling one of all. They have compelled the Tract Society to plead to the Impeachment they have brought against it for passing by on the other side when the Slave was lying in their path stripped, wounded and left half dead, for the fear of offending his robbers and murderers. It does not need that we should have crowded Anti-Slavery Meetings, by that special name (though we have them, too); for we have made every Capitol, every State House, every church and every Religious Organization a Meeting for the discussion of Slavery and its relations with Church and State. Wherefore should we not thank God and take courage when we have the testimony of the Slaveholders and our bitterest Northern enemies that we are doing precisely what they hate the most? It is lawful to learn of our enemies and the lesson should be laid to heart and our resolution nerved afresh to cease not from the Agitation which is our life and the only hope of the nation.

KANSAS MATTERS.

WE have stirring news from Kansas. The Border Ruffian Democracy, fearful of the results likely to follow the investigations of the Congressional Committee, are evidently determined to interrupt those investigations by some means, and thereby escape the impending exposure of their frauds and crimes. We present the more important portions of the correspondence in which this news is conveyed.

Special Despatch to The N. Y. Tribune.

LAWRENCE, Kansas, May 9, 1856.
(Via ST. LOUIS, May 12.)

The Congressional Committee now sitting at this place to investigate the reported frauds in the Kansas Territorial Elections has been assailed by an attempt to arrest Gov. Reeder, who is the prosecutor engaged in submitting testimony to said Committee. Reeder was first subpœnaed to go to Lecompton, to give evidence on some complaint before a Grand Jury, but refused to be dragged away from the investigation on this pretext. Last night a writ was served on him, while attending the sittings of the Committee, by a Deputy Marshal—said writ charging him with contempt of the subpœna aforesaid. He appealed to the Committee for protection or advice. The Committee decided that they had no jurisdiction in the premises, but the majority (Messrs. Howard and Sherman) expressed the opinion that Gov. Reeder was protected by his privilege. The minority (Mr. Oliver) held that he was not so protected, and that the Commission could not stand between him and a warrant in the hands of a Deputy Marshal. Gov. Reeder declared that his life was not safe at Lecompton—that he should claim his privilege as acting under the authority of Congress, and that whoever should lay hands on him would do so at his peril. The Marshal thereupon left, and is expected back, with a force of United States dragoons, to-day.

Judge Lecompte charged the Grand Jury at Lecompton, last Monday, to indict all the Free State officers and members of the State Legislature as guilty of high treason.

Ten o'clock, p. m.—A despatch from Leavenworth, just received, reports an armed force on the way to this place. Its object is said to be the destruction of the testimony already taken before the Congressional Committee. This force was moving immediately on Lecompton, there to join other parties mustering for the same work. W. J.

To the Associated Press.

ST. LOUIS, Monday, May 12.

The steamer Star of the West arrived to-day from Kansas, and the following information is derived from passengers: The steamer left Kansas on Saturday, the 10th, Gov. Robinson and family being among the passengers. At Lexington, Mo., Gov. Robinson was waited upon by a committee appointed by the citizens, and notified that they should detain him, on the ground that he was fleeing from the Territory to avoid an arrest on an indictment of treason, which had been found against him by the Grand Jury of the United States District Court. Gov. Robinson replied that he had been informed by one of the Grand Jury that an attempt had been made to find a bill, but had failed. This did not satisfy the committee, they insisting that Mr. Robinson should remain, and he finally consented to do so, on persuasion of Mr. Parkinson, captain of the boat, and Mr. Barnard, of Baltimore. He was invited to the house of Mr. Sawyer, one of the committee, his family proceeding on to St. Louis. The committee agreed to send a messenger to Kansas to ascertain if an indictment had been found; and if not, all the expenses of Mr. R.'s detention were to be paid. No violence or indignity was offered Mr. R. during the proceeding. The committee consisted of Gen. Shields, Mr. Sawyer, and a number of the most respectable citizens. The information upon which they acted was derived from Capt. Adams.

It is reported that a despatch from Leavenworth has been received, stating that an armed body of men were en route for Lawrence for the purpose of destroying the evidence taken by the committee.

While Gov. Reeder was in attendance at the session of the Committee of Investigation at Lecompton, on the evening of the 8th, the Deputy Marshal served on him a writ to appear before the Grand Jury at Lecompton, to answer to a charge of contempt for having refused to comply with a summons from the Grand Jury previously served upon him. Mr. Reeder refused to obey the writ, and appealed to the committee, but they decided that they had no power in the case. Messrs. Howard and Sherman, however, expressed as their opinion that Mr. Reeder was protected by his privilege. Mr. Oliver dissented, and said the committee could not stand between him and the marshal. Mr. Reeder said that, although his life was in danger in Lecompton, he would remain on his privilege in attendance at the sittings of the committee, and he warned them to touch him at their peril. The marshal left, but was expected to return on the 9th with United States dragoons.

Judge Lecompte charged the Grand Jury, on Monday, the 5th inst., to indict all the State officers and members of the Legislature for high treason, but up to the 9th inst. no such indictments had been found by the Court, so far as their proceedings had been made public.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

LAWRENCE CITY, K. T., Friday, May 2, 1856.

On Wednesday last, Mr. J. N. Mace, formerly of Newburyport, Mass., who resides alone upon a claim four miles north-west from here, on the prairie, testified before the Congressional Commission, now in session at this place, relative to the invasion of the polls at Bloomington, at the election of the 30th of March, 1855. He gave a plain, straightforward statement of what he saw and heard. Among other things, he exposed the villany of bogus "Sheriff" Jones, the lately shot-at, on that occasion, *who was then postmaster* of Weston, Missouri, but who left his home, and, crossing the border into this Territory, proceeded, with a gang of ruffians from his own State, to Bloomington, and there took possession of the polls, driving Free State men away by brandishing weapons and threatening their lives. He held his watch in his hand and notified the judges of the election that they could have five minutes to retire, and would be shot if they failed to obey! The Free State judges did not budge an inch, but remained at their post. The five minutes expired, and the chivalrous Southern Jones *extended* the time to one minute more, that they might have an opportunity to bless themselves. Before this minute expired, however, Jones was called out of the room where the balloting was going on, and did not return to complete his contemplated murderous work. This was the kind of testimony given by Mr. Mace, and has been corroborated by other witnesses. We will cut the story short, and come at once to the sequel. About 9 o'clock on Wednesday evening, Mr. Mace was called to the door of his cabin by the barking of his faithful Newfoundland watch-dog, which was tied just outside the cabin. He untied the string and let the dog go, holding on to the other end of the string himself, it being so dark that he could not see very well. He supposed the dog had seen a wolf. The animal led him to the brow of a bluff, the descent from which led down into a deep ravine. Here Mr. Mace stopped, and instantly two pistols were discharged at him from below. The flash developed the presence, in the ravine, of two men. One shot grazed his right shoulder, and the other entered his left leg, below the knee. He instantly fell, when the men gave a hellish "ha! ha!" and one of them exclaimed, "*There is more d—d abolition bait for the wolves!*" Mr. Mace, occupying a position upon the brow of the bluff, could easily be seen from below, so great was the contrast between an object and the horizon. Seeing him fall, and supposing him dead, the valorous "Border Ruffians" fled, chuckling to themselves, no doubt, that they had done a brave thing. Mr. Mace crawled to his cabin, his faithful dog and only companion keeping close by his side. He sat up and bathed his wound, and bandaged it as well as he could, and suffered through the remainder of the night, expecting every moment another attack from the same party. Morning at last came, and, suffering though he was, he succeeded in reaching Lawrence, where he obtained medical aid, and is now doing well.

A band of Lecompton Ruffians, said to have been ordered out by Gov. Shannon, have been encamped upon the Delaware Reserve, for the purpose of seizing and annoying Lawrence men. One man from this city was pursued by five of them, a few evenings since, and was shot at, and but for the fact that his horse suddenly leaped into a deep ravine, from which he could not readily extricate himself, he would probably have been overtaken and murdered. The leap into the ravine suddenly misled the party upon another trail.

A party of 250 Southerners, mostly from Georgia, under command of Major Bu[illegible], arrived at Kansas City on Wednesday last. They are organized into military companies and move under their military officers. Their only baggage is arms. They announce their object to be to fight and demolish Lawrence. On their arrival at Kansas City they were poverty-stricken. The commander says he was robbed on board of the boat at St. Louis. With the money four of his own party were missing. The remainder gambled their money away on the boat. The Pro-Slavery men in Missouri are called upon to support them, and are awfully mad with their friends in the South for sending "paupers" to their aid. Each man had a Bible and a gun presented him at home.

On the trip up the river, the Bibles were thrown promiscuously into a large bucket on the hurricane-deck, and the company were below handling an article known among gamblers as a "pocket testament," and it was by such means that they lost their money, what little they had. They are spoken of as a ragged, dirty, ignorant set of gamblers and drunkards. The North don't send such men.

The United States Dragoons are quartered about four miles from here; so if the chivalrous sons of the South come, they will not only have to encounter Sharp's rifles, but Uncle Sam in the bargain.

Emigrants are pouring in fast from the North. Send them along, for this is the richest and most beautiful country upon the earth.

The *Daily Times*, of this city, has published in full, the evidence taken by the Congressional Investigating Committee upon the first two days of its session. If this is a specimen of what is likely to follow, we don't wonder that the Missouri villains shrink under the application of the probe. Mr. Jordan Davidson, the first witness, testified that he was a member of a Secret Society formed in Missouri, the express object of which was to make Kansas a Slave State, and that he had reason to believe that it existed also in other Southern States, in Virginia, in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas. He came from Missouri to Kansas *to vote*—was sworn in on the spot as one of the officers of election, and knew of many others who came from Missouri and voted. William Lyons testified that at the election, March, 1855, he saw a Mr. Shelby, who told him he had come 100 miles to vote, and "that 800 Missourians would vote on that day:" he himself knew that over 100 went to Douglas, where the polls were held, that day to vote. Augustus Wattles, living in the Second District, testified after an examination of the census returns, that there were but 25 legal voters in that District: and yet several hundred votes were cast. At that poll Mr. Hammond Muzzy testifies that just as he got there a Mr. Mace offered to vote, and that

"When the Pro-Slavery party saw that his vote was a Free-State vote, they said he *should not vote it*; several men took hold of him by the collar and pulled him away; he took hold of me and we were both pulled away together from the poll; they cried out, '*Cut his throat, tear the d—d heart out of him*;' saw one man draw a knife upon him, without doing any injury; saw a man with a lever, trying to pry up a corner of the cabin; others cried out, 'Don't do it until you have orders;' saw Ellison come out of the cabin with the ballot-box in his hand, and cry out, 'Hurrah for Missouri!' Ellison was one of the Judges; *heard Jones* (now Sheriff) *say he would give the Judge five minutes to resign or die*; Jones gave one more minute and then left; these Judges were Ramsay and Burson, both Free State men; was there when the other Judges were appointed; the crowd then commenced voting; saw no other Free State man vote."

Here the Missouri mob obtained entire control of the poll, and, with Sheriff Jones at their head, compelled two of the Judges, under threats of death, to resign, and then put two others in their place. In the Seventh District, Marcus H. Rose testifies that there could not have been over 30 legal voters in the District—and that 234 votes were cast. J. B. Titus testifies that over 200 Missourians encamped near this place, and told him they had come there expressly to vote. William Jessie swears that he was at the polls in the Second District, and that

"Things went on until about 38 votes were taken, when one man came forward whose vote was objected to; the Judges would not receive it until he swore he was a resident of the Territory; the crowd cried out *he should vote without swearing*; while this was going on a dozen came to vote and were pulled away; *pistols were presented to the Judges, and they were told their brains should be blowed out if they did not receive the votes of these persons who refused to take the oath*; they declared they came there to vote and they would vote."

The mob finally demanded of Burson and Ramsay, the free State Judges, that they should resign, and threatened to blow out their brains if they refused. Jessie further says:

"I hunted for Messrs. Burson and Ramsay, the other Judges, to see if they had come out; found them, and *heard a man telling them he would give them five minutes to resign or die*; I went into the cabin to see Burson again, and saw a man holding a watch in his hand; I told Burson he had better leave his house; he said he did not want to leave his own house; he finally did, with Ramsay and myself; we went, some fifteen in number, to Mr. Ramsay's house; I asked Burson where the poll books were; I found the poll books in his pocket; he handed them to Mr. Humbacker; Mr. H. and Mr. B. then went towards their homes; a crowd of men came on horseback and asked where the poll books were; we told them we did not know; they swore they were there—went off and returned again and abused us; Mr. Jones, now Acting Sheriff, was with them, on horseback, with Mr. Humbacker behind him; soon others came after Judge Wakefield; they demanded he should go with them; he consented to go with them after three had promised to protect him against harm; Jones was one of the three; the cry and search was then for Burson; I found him and went away with him; when I returned, the bigger part of the company had gone; *Jones, now Sheriff, was the man who was holding the watch and telling him they had five minutes to resign or die*; some were there voting when I got back; when they left they went down East; I suppose there were nearly 400 strangers there; have not seen them in the District since; they were well armed with knives, guns and revolvers; *I do not know as any settlers of the District voted.*"

Thomas B. Wolverton testified that he was at the October election in Willow Spring, and that he was told by several men there that they had come from Missouri *to vote*, in order to make Kansas a slave State; and Thomas D. Hopkins, residing about nine miles south of Lawrence, says that at the election he saw many of his old acquaintances from Missouri; he adds:

"They told me there were about twenty-five of my acquaintances there from that settlement; they said they came to vote and intended so to do; they said they wanted to make it a slave State; if it wasn't they would lose their property, and if it was necessary they would come again; they told me there were from 700 to 1,000 from Missouri in this place, and that there would be from 5,000 to 10,000 here in the Territory from Missouri to vote."

These are but specimens. It is probable that Governor Shannon and his minions, in their efforts to break up the investigation by the arrest of Reeder and all the prominent Free State men, are acting under instructions from the President of the United States.

COVENANTERS—CORRECTION.

To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WE Covenanters are jealous of our rights, as well as anxious that our position, in relation to slavery and this slaveholding Government, be rightly understood. Allow me, therefore, to correct an error, occuring in THE STANDARD of May 3d, in reference to the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

In your editorial headed "Religious Convocations" you use this language:

"Another Presbyterian body, however, of a widely different character, will meet in this city on Wednesday, May 25th. We allude to the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanter) Church of the United States, which will be opened by a sermon, by the Rev. T. W. J. Wylie, of Philadelphia, in the evening of the day above named, in the Church of the Rev. Dr. McLeod in Twelfth street, where the subsequent sessions will be held. This Church long ago put slavery into its category of crimes. It admits no slaveholder to communion, and its members take no voluntary part in the pro-slavery Government of the United States. It stands substantially on the same platform with the American Anti-Slavery Society. A sketch of its past action on the subject of slavery will be found on the first page."

The error in the above arose from not distinguishing between "Old Light" and "New Light" Covenanters; and this, I presume, arose from want of familiarity with the names of clergymen in those bodies, for you are doubtless aware that there are two divisions of the Church—or rather, there are two ecclesiastical bodies—called by by the name of Reformed Presbyterians. Allow me to explain briefly.

Covenanters did, from their first organization as a Church in the United States, "admit no slaveholder to communion"; its members took "no voluntary part in the pro-slavery Government of the United States," and did stand "substantially on the same platform" now occupied by the American Anti-Slavery Society. But in in 1833 the Church was divided into two divisions. The separation grew mainly out of this very question—the character of the United States Government, and our duty in relation to it. A large minority, or probably a majority, forsook the platform of the Church, and in consequence were cut off from the fellowship. This minority formed a new Synod, denominating it afterwards the "General Synod," &c., though their common cognomen is the "New Light Synod." These New School Covenanters still claim to be the true Reformed Presbyterian Church; but they have altered the old terms of communion, and have forsaken the long-established practice of the Church respecting officeholding, the elective franchise, &c. Now nearly all their ministers and people are applauders of, and officeholders or voters under, the United States Constitution. This is the body whose Synod meets in New York, in Dr. McLeod's church, as noticed in THE STANDARD.

The Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church (Old Light), which has not abandoned her position—whose platform respecting slavery is substantially the same as that of the American Anti-Slavery Society—will meet in Philadelphia, in Cherry Street Church, on Wednesday, the 28th inst.

The article on the first page of THE STANDARD, to which you refer in your editorial, has this language:

"As friends of humanity and of the cause of Christ, we are bound to lament and deplore the continuance and spread of this *monster evil* in our own land, in the maladministration of our good civil Constitution, and under the sanction of law."

"Our *good* civil Constitution"! Had you read that article carefully, so as to notice that sentiment, you would not have wronged us dissenters—"Come-outers"—by attributing it to us. We have always held and yet hold, and practise according to the belief, that the United States Constitution is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." We fellowship neither the slaveholder nor him who votes or holds office under that Constitution. That pro-slavery Compact, notwithstanding its many excellent and wholesome republican principles—that *wicked* (not "*good*") civil Constitution—we trample under foot, as at war with God and humanity; as the bond of an unholy alliance—of a union formed and continued at the sacrifice of the rights of the enslaved millions. Let not your readers suppose that Covenanters call such a civil Constitution "*good*." Our only hope, under God, for the slave is in revolution. That revolution we wish to be bloodless. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal. We desire and labour for a revolution of the public opinion of the nation. The people must see that the foundation is wrong, and must learn to believe that it is always safe to do right. In the meantime, our only course is that of dissenters or "Come-outers," agitating under the motto of "No Union with Slaveholders, either politically or religiously."

That it may be seen that these are not merely my own personal views, but that they are the position of the Church, permit me to close this paper by a few extracts from the "Reformed Presbyterian Testimony," the Church's platform in the United States.

"The Reformed Presbyterian Church approve of some of the leading features of the Constitution of Government in the United States..... Such a Constitution ('a definite Constitution upon the representative system') must, however, be founded upon the principles of morality, and must in every article be moral, before it can be recognised by the conscientious Christians as an ordinance of God. ..... When immorality and impiety are rendered essential to any system, the whole system must be rejected. Presbyterian Covenanters, perceiving immorality interwoven with the general and the States' Constitutions, have uniformly dissented from the civil establishments." Page 122.

"It (the Constitution) establishes that system of robbery by which men are held in slavery, despoiled of liberty, and property, and protection. It violates the principles of representation, by bestowing upon the domestic tyrant who holds hundreds of his fellow-creatures in bondage an influence in making laws for freemen proportioned to the number of his own slaves. This Constitution is, notwithstanding its numerous excellencies, in many instances inconsistent, oppressive and impious. Since the adoption of the Constitution, in the year 1789, the members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church have maintained a constant testimony against these evils. They have refused to serve in any office which implies an approbation of the Constitution, or which is placed under the direction of an immoral law. They have abstained from giving their votes at elections for legislators or officers who must be qualified to act by an oath of allegiance to this immoral system. They could not themselves consistently swear allegiance to that Government, in whose Constitution there is contained so much immorality. In all these instances their practice has been uniform." Pp. 122 and 125.

Yours for the truth and the right,

N. R. JOHNSTON.

THE METHODIST GENERAL CONFERENCE assembled at Indianapolis on the 1st inst. W. L. Harris, of Ohio, the anti-slavery candidate, was elected Secretary by 113 votes to 93. The Bishops, in their quadrennial address to the Conference, declared themselves hostile to any change in the Discipline with a view to exclude slaveholders from membership. They state that the resolutions asking the change had all failed to obtain a constitutional majority in the Annual Conferences, and they give it as their opinion that the General Conference could not change the rule on that subject. The address also expressed a great doubt that any measure equivalent to a change in the general rules can be constitutionally adopted without the concurrence of the Annual Conferences. The address states that there are six Annual Conferences in whole or in part embracing slave territory, composing a white membership of 143,000, with congregations amounting to five or six hundred thousand; that there were 28,000 coloured members, with coloured attendants of upward of 100,000; and that there were 271,000 church members in these six Conferences, and between seven and eight hundred thousand hearers; that a portion of this population are slaves, but they are strongly attached to the church of their choice, and look to it for ministerial services, religious sympathy and all the offices of Christian kindness. The address also speaks of the intelligence and piety of the white members in these Conferences and their strong attachment to the doctrines and usages of the church, comparing most favourably, in all these respects, with any other portion of the church. They also say that, in their judgment, the existence of these Conferences and churches, under their present circumstances, does not tend to extend or perpetuate slavery; that they were organized under a discipline which characterizes slavery as a great evil, which makes the slaveholder ineligible to any official station in the church, where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy his freedom; which disfranchises a travelling preacher who by any means becomes the owner of a slave or slaves, unless he executes, if praticable, a deed of emancipation conformable to the laws of the State in which he lives; which makes it the duty of all ministers to enforce upon all the members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the word of God, and allowing them time to attend upon the public worship of God, and which prohibits the buying or selling of men, women or children, with an intention to enslave them, and inquires what shall be done for the extirpation of slavery, &c.

An immense number of petitions on the subject of slavery have been presented and referred to a special committee, composed of one member from each Annual Conference (38 in all), the Rev. Dr. Raymond, of New England, being chairman.

THE CRITIC CRITICISED.—The Boston *Telegraph*, in a notice of the last number of the *Christian Examiner*, takes occasion to expose the injustice done to the Abolitionists by that influential magazine in a critique of Olmsted's late work. It says:

"Another recent publication noticed by the *Examiner* is Mr. Olmsted's excellent work on the Seaboard Slave States. The book is praised, but not half so much as it deserves to be. The writer of the notice then goes on to criticise the anti-slavery movement and anti-slavery men, of which subjects he is evidently as ignorant as he is of Thackeray. The trials of the Abolitionists are not half over yet. For many years they suffered reproach and persecution, and now that their efforts have *compelled* the public to think and act, up come a set of 'constructors,' as we suppose they style themselves, who undertake to point out what errors have been committed while they were asleep, or awake only to do mischief. The writer in the *Examiner* is a specimen of this class of men. Hear him: 'Rabid declamation, fanciful caricature, "conscientious contentiousness," pedantic abstractions, have formed the ordinary pabulum upon which the Northern mind has been fed.' What is this but caricature and declamation?—there is certainly not a word of *truth* in it. Another ridiculous idea is expressed, viz.: that there is *less* anti slavery opinion among us 'of late years' than formerly; and this is attributed to 'the extravagant, positive, denunciatory tone of abolition logic and literature.' The writer being egregiously mistaken in his *fact*, it is not necessary to expose the stupidity of the reason for it which he gives. We give another specimen of this article, which would not be out of place in the *New York Herald*, or that rowdy-religious paper the *New York Observer*: 'The most courageous combatants in the anti-slavery field are very shy of this part of the subject (i. e. the Remedy for Slavery), as they or any one may well be. * * * Most of the Abolitionists, with more wisdom than honesty, shirk the whole question, and keep pounding with the hammer of agitation upon a single point, the sin of slavery, until the public mind has become benumbed by the united blows and clamour. The anti-slavery politician does not, of course, concern himself with this side of the subject. All he proposes or attempts is, to carry a measure or to defeat a counter-measure, into which slavery enters as an element, and by such means to acquire power or to dispossess the present holders of power.' There are three or four distinct falsehoods in the above quotation—the result of the intense ignorance of the writer in all things concerning the anti-slavery movement. We venture to affirm, that all he knows or ever will know, about the *sin* of slavery, has been pounded into him by the hammer of the agitators, and all he knows or ever will know about the economical view of the question or the remedial view, he has got or will get from the agitators, moral and political, at whom he sneers, but of whom he knows absolutely nothing. It is amazing to find a religious teacher objecting to the agitation of the question of 'the sin of slavery.' If the majority of the preachers would follow the example of the agitators, and discuss the sin of *sin* a little more frequently and pointedly, Christianity would make more progress than it does at present."

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.—The business meeting of this Society was attended with much excitement. The representatives of cotton piety rushed to the meeting in great numbers and with a fixed determination to resist any measure intended to change the policy of the Society in relation to slavery. The Executive Committee, however, alarmed by the state of feeling produced by the late exposures of their pro-slavery course, had concluded beforehand, as a matter of policy, to consent to the appointment of a Committee of Investigation, thus leaving their special champions in the lurch. It must have been particularly mortifying to Dr. Cox, Dr. Bethune, Dr. Tyng and their followers, to find that the Committee had sent in a flag of truce to the besiegers and were absolutely beating a retreat! But there's "policy" in the wars of the Church as in those of the world. After a great deal of excitement and some pretty high words, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

"Regarding the actions and proceedings of the Executive Committee, as frankly and ingenuously inviting the fullest investigation into all the affairs intrusted to their charge, therefore,

"Resolved, That at the suggestion of the Executive Committee themselves, a Special Committee of fifteen be appointed to inquire into and review the proceedings of the Executive Committee, and report to the next annual meeting or to a duly convened special meeting, to be called by said Special Committee at their discretion."

Subsequently, at the Tabernacle meeting, the President announced the Committee of Investigation, as follows:

Hon. T. Frelinghuysen,	Rev. John S. Stone, D.D.,
Rev. Thomas DeWitt, D.D.,	Rev. John McLeod, D.D.,
Judge Jessup, Pa.,	James Donnelson, Esq.,
Rev. Albert Barnes, D.D.,	George H. Stuart, Esq.,
Rev. F. Wayland, D.D.,	Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D.,
Rev. M. B. Anderson, LL.D.,	Rev. Mark Hopkins, D.D.,
Rev. G. T. Bedell, D.D.,	Rev. Ray Palmer, DD.,

Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D.

MR. FILLMORE having written—in reference to his nomination for the Presidency—that he "puts himself in the hands of his friends," the Albany *Evening Journal* retorts: "That is what Mr. Weller would call 'tying hisself up into a very small parcel.'"

Summary.

IRELAND AND VIRGINIA UNITED.—Last week, in this city, a Virginian of dusky hue, and bearing above his shoulders a very woolly head, was married to a rosy maiden under twenty. She was quite handsome, and a native of Ireland.—*Boston Courier.*

Louisville, Ky., with all the advantages of Cincinnati, save that of free soil, is fading away under the blight of a slave country. There are fifty-five vacant tenements in Main street alone; and the merchants, alarmed at the exposure of nakedness made by the newspapers, have held a meeting, and formally requested the newspapers to discontinue the discussion of the prosperity of the city.

An exchange paper says: "A clergyman at the South, in sending a sermon for publication in the *National Preacher*, observes incidentally, 'I should have no objection to your obtaining for me the degree of D.D. from some Northern college. I am a very popular man at the South, and I think it would have a tendency to harmonize the North and the South.'"

THE MARSHAL'S FINE.—H. H. Robinson, United States Marshal, has not paid the fine of three hundred dollars laid on him by the Judge of the Probate Court, for contempt of that Court in taking away the infant children of the slave Margaret, contrary to the Court's injunction. His attorneys are understood to have under consideration the advisability of refusing altogether to make the payment required.—*Cincinnati Columbian*

MRS. WEBB'S READINGS.—A fair audience was in attendance, on Monday evening, to hear Mrs. Webb, the "Coloured Siddons," read "Uncle Tom" and "Hiawatha." The lady was in good voice, and read the extracts from Mrs. Stowe, and portions of Longfellow's poem, exceedingly well. In this latter, she was particularly happy, and delighted the audience greatly by her rendering of the somewhat difficult verse. Before concluding the whole of the selections she marked for reading, Mrs. Webb was attacked with an ague chill and obliged to leave off abruptly. The people present, however, felt well repaid for attending.—*Rochester Democrat.*

In the Massachusetts House of Representatives, on the 6th inst., a petition was presented for the removal of Edward G. Loring from the office of Judge of Probate, as he is still United States Commissioner, and consequently holds the former office in violation of the law of the Commonwealth. It was signed by Francis Jackson, William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, and sixty-six others. After a warm discussion as to the disposition of the petition, a motion to lay on the table was lost, and it was referred to the next Legislature.

A few weeks since, in the Nicholas Circuit Court, Kentucky, Mr. Garrett Davis was bullying a witness named Roberts, and derisively called him captain, when the following dialogue took place:

Witness—I am no military man, Mr. Davis; but when you are elected President, I hope you will give me a commission (laughter).

Mr. Davis (furiously)—If I were President, the first thing I should do would be to have you hung, sir!

Witness (with a quiet bow)—Thank you, Mr. Davis; but if I live until you become President to have me hung, life will become a burden.

CAUTION.—On Sunday afternoon last, two children, in the eastern part of the city, indulged freely in blowing soap bubbles through an old tobacco pipe, which had been used for a long time without cleaning. After two hours' amusement of this kind, they were seized with vomiting, accompanied with symptoms of excessive collapse; acute inflammation of the stomach supervened, and on Tuesday morning the boy died. The girl still continues very low, but hopes are entertained of her ultimate recovery. The children were undoubtedly poisoned with the *essential oil of tobacco* received into the stomach in the manner indicated above. It is well known that a very small quantity of this article, taken internally, will produce death.—*Bangor Whig and Courier, May* 1.

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.—The Legislature of Ohio has adjourned without doing anything towards extending the privileges of the elective franchise to those who are deprived of it by constitutional provision. Memorials for this purpose were addressed to the Legislature in behalf of the disfranchised women and coloured people. Some of the petitions embracing both classes, others one of them. The coloured people themselves sent in a memorial, in regard to their case, which was referred to a special committee. So far as we are informed, that committee never reported at all on the subject. A joint committee of both Houses was appointed to report amendments to the Constitution. They reported several clauses for amendment. But no redress was proposed for the disfranchised. The Presidential election was too near at hand, for a majority of Republicans to jeopard their prospect of success, by advocating or granting *equal rights to all.*—*A. S. Bugle.*

AN INTERESTING OLD MANSION.—It is, probably, known to but very few of our readers that there is yet standing, near the foot of Fifty-fifth street, E. R., the old Beekman Mansion-house, which was occupied by General Howe as his head-quarters after the battle of Long Island. It is a venerable wooden structure, built in the ancient style, and was evidently, at its day, one of the finest houses on Manhattan Island. On the approach of the British troops, James Beekman, who was a prominent Whig, and a member of the Provincial Congress, was, of course, obliged to leave his residence, and, therefore, went with his family to Esopus. It was taken possession of by the British and occupied first by Gen. Howe and then by Gen. Clinton and other officers of rank. In a room, near the head of the stairs, Major Andre slept the night before departing on his mission to the treacherous Arnold. The original decorations of the grand receiving-room of General Clinton, in blue and gold, are yet preserved.

Near this house stood, until a few years ago, a green-house, of which some of the remains may yet be seen. In this green-house, at the time empty of plants, Captain Nathan Hale, the "Martyr-spy," was tried, and was afterwards executed in the old burying-ground, the site of which is now occupied by Stewart's store and Burton's Theatre. The reason of his being taken so far for execution was, that the old Jail or "Provost" (the present Hall of Records), was the place in which he was confined.

The Beekman Mansion is yet in possession of the family, being owned by Ex-Senator James W. Beekman.—*Daily Times.*

A LESSON FOR MOTHERS.—*The Birmingham* (Eng.) *Journal* prints the following account of a flogging the Prince of Wales received from a poor boy:

"During Her Majesty's residence, some years ago, at Osborne, in the Isle of Wight, her children were accustomed to ramble along the sea shore. Now, it so happened on one occasion that the young Prince of Wales met a boy who had been gathering sea-shells. The boy had got a basket full. The young Prince, presuming upon his high position, thought himself privileged to do what he pleased with impunity. So, without any notice, he upset the basket and shells. The poor lad was very indignant, and observed: 'You do that again, and I'll lick you.' 'Put the shells into the basket,' said the Prince, 'and see if I don't.' The shells were gathered up and put into the basket. 'Now,' said the lad, 'touch 'em again, old fellow, if you dare,' whereupon the Prince again pitched over the shells. And the lad 'pitched into him,' and gave him such a licking as few Princes ever had. His lip was cut open, his nose knocked considerably out of its perpendicular, and his eyes of a colour which might have well become the champion of a prize ring. His disfigured face could not long be concealed from his royal mother. She inquired the cause of his disfigurement. The Prince was silent, but at last confessed the truth. The poor boy was ordered before the Queen. He was asked to tell his story. He did so in a very straightforward manner. At its conclusion, turning to her child, the Queen said: 'You have been rightly served, sir. Had you not been punished sufficiently already, I should have punished you severely. When you commit a like offence, I trust you will always receive a similar punishment.' Turning to the poor boy, she commanded his parents to her presence the following morning. They came; and the result of the interview was, that her Majesty told them she had made arrangements for educating and providing for their son, and she hoped he would make good use of the advantages which should be placed within his reach."

MARRIED.

GRAHAM—ROSS.—On Tuesday, May 6th, by Friends' ceremony, at their residence, 80 Madison street, New York, Andrew J. Graham to Caroline Ross.

Special Notices.

☞ The Post-office address of A. M. POWELL will be Ghent, Columbia Co., N. Y., until further notice.

☞ YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS OF HUMAN PROGRESS.—The Eighth Annual Meeting of this body will be held in Waterloo, Seneca County, New York, commencing on First-day (Sunday), the first of June, at 11 o'clock, A. M., and continuing, by adjournments, the two following days, or longer if deemed expedient. This is a strictly anti-sectarian association. Its basis is as broad as humanity. Its object is the elevation and happiness of man, by the promotion of pure religion and pure morals. And as conducive to these objects, it invites ALL, with hearts imbued with their importance, to come together, irrespective of creed or denomination, and participate in the proceedings of the meeting—each, as moved to do so, giving utterance to his and her highest and divinest impressions and thoughts—thus "building each other up in the most holy faith." It is hoped many strong hearts and true will be present. Among others who expect to be in attendance, we are gratified to be able to announce the name of Theodore Parker, of Boston. Accommodations will be freely furnished by friends in the vicinity of the meeting, for strangers and others attending. To have this matter in charge, the following were appointed a Committee at our last meeting—viz: George Pryor, village of Waterloo; Henry Bonnell, Margaret Schooley, Abram Vail, and Phebe Dean, town of Waterloo, near the meeting-house; Rhoda Palmer, two miles north of Geneva.

☞ Dr. Burleigh, who began a course of Lectures in Philadelphia, last March, ON RECENT ELECTRICAL DISCOVERIES has consented, owing to the large number who could not gain admittance, to continue his lectures during the month of May.

☞ PA. YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS'—Upon the undersigned devolves the pleasant duty of inviting the friends of Truth, Purity, and Progress, without distinction of sect or name or nation, to attend the Fourth Annual Convocation of Progressive Friends, to be held in the Meeting-house at Longwood (between Hamorton and Kennett Square), Chester Co., Pa., commencing on First day, the eighteenth of Fifth month, 1856, at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing as long as circumstances may seem to require—probably for three days.

The Progressive Friends have no creed as the basis of association. Their object is not to build up a Sect, armed with ecclesiastical power, and endowed with authority to define the boundaries of thought and restrain the freedom of speech and action, but to unite persons of every shade of theological opinion, in ONE SPIRIT OF LOVE, to "do good unto all men as they have opportunity"; to cultivate in themselves whatsoever is pure, generous, and ennobling; to worship God in the service of Humanity; to investigate those questions of individual and social duty which the experiences of daily life and the conflicts of sects, parties, classes, and nationalities, are perpetually evolving; to vindicate the primordial rights of man, and plead the cause of the poor, the ignorant, the degraded, and the oppressed; to testify against those systems of popular wickedness which derive their support from a false Church and a corrupt Government; to promote the cause of "pure and undefiled religion," by a firm resistance to the impositions of Church-craft and Priest-craft; to elevate the standard of public morals, by teaching men to revere, as paramount to all human codes, the law written by the finger of God in their own minds and hearts; to exemplify the spirit of Universal Brotherhood, and to proclaim the evangel of "Peace on earth, and good will to men."

All those who desire to co-operate with us, and those we represent, in this work of beneficence and love, are earnestly invited to meet with us, at the time and place above name. Nay, more—in the language of the Hebrew prophet, we say, "Whosoever WILL, let him come."

Committee of Arrangements.

Joseph A. Dugdale,	Ruth Dugdale,
Sidney P. Curtis,	William Barnard,
H. M. Darlington,	Lizzie McFarlan,
Rowland Johnson,	Josiah Wilson,
Hannah Pennock,	Oliver Johnson,
Sallie C. Coates,	Amelia Jackson,

Isaac Mendenhall.

☞ All papers and letters designed for the Meeting should be directed to J. A. DUGDALE, Hamorton, Chester Co., Pa.

CHILDREN'S MEETING.—JOSEPH A. DUGDALE, feeling a peculiar interest in the welfare of the young, cordially invites all the little Girls and Boys in the region to assemble in the new Meeting-house at Longwood, on Seventh day, the 17th of Fifth month, 1856, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

GEORGE PEIRCE has kindly consented to permit the Children to walk through his beautiful Park at the close of the meeting.

Advertisements.

WHILE AT THE ANNIVERSARIES, DO NOT FAIL TO PROCURE THE FOLLOWING:

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The most convincing plea for Freedom ever made.

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INFAMOUS AS TOOLS OF TYRANTS and INSTRUMENTS OF OPPRESSION, by Richard Hildreth. 432 pages. Price $1.

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There is a Gymnasium, Billiard Room and Bowling Alley for the use of guests and patients. Gymastic and Calisthenic exercise are of the utmost importance for the expansion, development and healthy action of the lungs and various other organs, and in some cases are indispensable. Many modes are used to excite bodily and organic action, and thus to equalize the circulation, and to aid the secreting vessels without incurring the baneful reactive effects of powerful and injurious drugs.

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Circulars sent free to any address on application; "Exposition of Motorpathy," postage free on receipt of ten letter stamps; and "Motion—Life," on receipt of six.

Address H. HALSTED, M.D, Northampton, Mass.

April, 1856. 3m.

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The next (Summer) Term will commence on the Third Thursday (15th) of May.

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3t

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1y

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN A. S. SOCIETY.

(Continued from First Page.)

had'nt the anti-slavery feeling; for though the heart helps the head, the head likewise pays back the debt by helping the heart; and if Mr. Garrison has a clear idea of freedom, he will go to men who have no very strong sentiment of freedom and will awake the soul of liberty underneath those ribs of death. He will do it; the womanhood of Mrs. Stone Blackwell will do it; the complexion of my friend Remond will do it.

This work has been done chiefly at the North, but some part of it has been done also at the South. Attempts have been made to get an anti-slavery idea in this way: Men go before merchants and say, "Slavery is bad economy; it don't pay; the slave can't raise so much tobacco and cotton as the freeman." That is an argument which Mr. May's mercantile friend could have understood, and a political economist might have shown him that although there were millions of dollars invested on behalf of slavery, there were tens of millions invested on behalf of freedom; and that latter investment would pay much larger dividends when it got fairly to its work.

Then, too, the attempt has been made to show that it was bad in that it would not breed a stalwart, noble set of men; for the slave contaminated the master and the master's neighbour not the less.

It has been shown, likewise, that slavery injured education; and while in Massachusetts, out of four hundred native white men, there is not quite one who cannot read the Bible, in Virginia, out of nine children of the first families (they have none others except black people), there is always one who cannot read his own name.

All kinds of schemes, too, have been proposed to end this wickedness of slavery. There has been a most multifarious discussion about the idea; for after we have got the sentiment right, it is difficult to get the intellectual work accomplished. It takes a large-minded man, with great experience, to cipher out all this intellectual work and show how we can get rid of slavery, and what is to take its place, and how the thing is to be done. Accordingly, very various schemes are proposed. Mr. Hale, in his place in the Senate, says he would not disturb slavery over the slave borders. That is not Mr. Hale's private opinion. His sentiment is as strongly anti-slavery as our friend Garrison's, only he is just in what they call a tight place, and he wants to do one thing at a time. The same is true of Henry Wilson, of Charles Sumner, and of Mr. Chase; they want to do one thing at a time. I do not find fault with their wishing to do that. This I do find fault with in all these four men, namely: that they say they do not intend to do anything to-morrow. They say, "Please God, we will pull up these weeds to-day." The South says, "You shan't," and these men say, "Let us pull up these; we will never pull up the weeds which grow just the other side of the park." They hate these other weeds just as bad; they mean to pull them up; but I am sorry to hear them say they don't intend to; and I am glad to hear any amount of severe censure passed upon them for saying that—but not for taking one step at a time.

Now, the idea which has been attained to—the anti-slavery idea reached by the ablest men is this—it is in two forces: First, no slavery anywhere in America; second, no slavery anywhere on earth. That is the topmost idea. There has been an opposite work going on. First, an attempt to crush the sentiment of humanity out of mankind. That was the idea of Caleb Cushing, a *very* distinguished son of Massachusetts. He said it must be crushed out. Second, to put down the idea of freedom. That has been attempted, not only by political men, but by a great many other classes of men.

The third thing is to do the deed, after the sentiment is right and the idea right. Organization must be attended to, but the greatest and most difficult work is to get the heart right and the head right; for when these two are in a proper condition the hand obeys the two and accomplishes its work. Still it is a difficult matter to organize freedom. It will require great talent and experience; for as it takes a master mind to organize thought into matter and to make a Sharp's rifle or a sewing-machine, so it requires a great deal more mind to organize an idea into institutions and establish a State where the anti-slavery sentiment shall blossom to an idea, and the idea fruiten into an anti-slavery fact.

Now, a great deal has been done in the Northern States in respect to awakening the sentiment and completing the idea; but there has been nothing done as yet in the Federal Congress towards accomplishing the work. I mean to say for the last sixty years Congress has not taken one single step towards abolishing slavery or making the anti-slavery idea an American fact. But all these three works must needs go on. Much elementary work still requires to be done, producing the sentiment and the idea before the nation is ready for the work.

Now look at the special forces which have engaged in this enterprise. I divide them into two great classes.

The first class consists of the political reformers—men who wish to act by political machinery and are in government offices, legislative, judicial and executive.

The second class is the non-political reformers, who are not and do not wish to be in government offices, legislative, judicial or executive.

Look a moment at the general functions of each of these classes of persons, and then at the particular person.

The business of the political man, legislative, judicial and executive, is confined to the third part of the anti-slavery work, namely, the organization of the idea and making the anti-slavery thought the thing. The political reformer, as such, is not expected to kindle the sentiment or create the idea—only to take what he finds ready, and put it into form. The political legislator is to make laws and institutions which organize the idea. The political judiciary is to expound the laws, and is limited thereby. The political executive is to administer the institution, and is limited to that. He cannot go beyond it. So the judiciary and the executive are limited by the laws and institutions. The legislature is chosen by the people to represent the people; that is, it is chosen to represent and to organize the ideas and to express the sentiments of the people, not to organize sentiments which are in advance of the people nor which are behind the people. The political legislator is restricted by the ideas of the people; if he wants what they don't want, then they don't want him. If Henry Wilson had got a million of men and women in Massachusetts who entertained the sentiments and ideas of Garrison, why, he would express the sentiments and ideas of Garrison, and would express them in Congress also, and would go to work to organize those ideas.

In hoisting the anchor of a ship two sets of men are at work—two apparatuses. One apparatus, I think, is called the windlass. A great many powerful men put their levers to that and hoist the anchor up out from the deep. Behind them is the capstan, whose business it is to haul in the slack. Now, the function of the non-political reformer is to hoist the anchor up from the bottom. He is the windlass. But the business of Chase, Hale, Sumner and Wilson, and other political reformers, is to haul in the slack and see that what the windlass has raised up is held on to, and that the anchor does not drop back again into the bottom. Now, the men at the windlass need not call out to the men at the capstan, "Haul in more slack," when there is no more slack to haul in. That is the misfortune of the position of the men at the capstan; they cannot turn any faster than the windlass gives them slack rope to wind up. That ought to be remembered. Every political man, before he takes his post, ought to understand that; and the non-political men, when they criticise him never so sharply (and I shall be taken to task for this presently without doubt, and shall be very thankful to the person who does it), ought to remember that the men at the capstan cannot turn any faster than the men at the windlass.

If the politician is to keep in office, he must accommodate himself to the idea of the people, for the people are sovereign and reign. The politicians only govern, don't reign, and are responsible to the people. The politician must be a majority in order to carry his point. He cannot wait for a majority to grow up; he must have it, else he loses his post. He has got the wolf by the ears; and if he lets go, the wolf eats him up. He must, therefore, keep hold where he can, clinch fast and hang tight. If Mr. Sumner, in his place in the Senate, says what Massachusetts does n't endorse, out goes Mr. Sumner. It is the same with the rest, and they are well aware of that fact. I have sometimes thought they forget a great many other things; they very seldom forget that (laughter).

See the proof of what I say. If you will go into any political meeting of Whigs or Democrats, you shall find the ablest men of the party on the platform—the great Whigs, the great Democrats; the rest of mankind will be on the floor. Now, watch the speeches. You never get a single idea that is in advance of the people; they never appeal to a sentiment that is in advance of the people. But when you go into an anti-slavery meeting, you find that the platform is a great way higher than the pews—commonly so. Accordingly, when an African speaks (who is commonly supposed to be a great deal lower than the rest of mankind) and says a very generous thing, there is a crowd of hisses all round the hall. What does it show? That the anti-slavery platform which the African stands on is a great deal higher than the general level of the floor, in the City even of New York (applause). The politician on his platform aims to represent the bottom of the floor and not the top of the ceiling.

So much for the political reformers—I am not speaking of political hunkers—and now a word of the party non-political. Their business is to produce first the sentiment, next the idea, and thirdly to suggest the mode of action. The anti-slavery non-political reformer is to raise the cotton, to spin it into threads, to weave it into web, to prescribe the pattern after which the dress is to be made, and then he is to pass over the cloth and the pattern to the political reformer and say, "Now, sir, take your shears and cut it out." You see how very inferior the business of the political reformer is, after all. But the non-political reformer is not restricted by any law, any constitution, any man, nor by the people, because he is not to deal with institutions; he is to make the institutions better. If he don't like the Union, he is to say so; and just as soon as he has got an audience inside of the Union that is a little too large for the limits of it, the Union will be taken down without much noise and piled up, just as this partition (alluding to the partition dividing the hall) has been taken down this morning, and there will be a larger place. The non-political reformer can say, "Down with the Union"; but the political reformer has sworn to keep the Union, or something like it. He is foreclosed from saying that to-day; by and by he can recant his oath and say it when he gets ready. The non-political reformer is not restricted by fear of losing office. Wendell Phillips can say just what he pleases, anywhere; if they will not hear him in Faneuil Hall, they will, perhaps, in the Old South meeting-house (laughter and applause). If they will not hear him there, they will on the Common; at any rate, in some little school-house. The political reformer must carry a majority with him, else he cannot do anything. He has not carried his point or accomplished his end. But the non-political reformer has accomplished part of his end if he has convinced one man out of a million, for that one man will go to work to convince another, and by and by the whole will be convinced. A political reformer must get a majority; a non-political reformer has done something if he has got the very smallest minority, even if it is a minority of one. The politician needs bread; he goes, therefore, to the baker, and it must be bread that is made to-day. He says I am starving; I can't wait. The baker says, "Go and raise the corn." "Why, bless you," he replies, "it will take a year to do that, and I can't wait." The non-political reformer does n't go to the baker. The baker says, "I have n't got much bread." "Very well," he says, "I am going to procure it for you"; so he goes and puts in the seed and raises the harvest. Sometimes he has got to take land very wild, and sometimes he has got to cut down the forest and scare off the wild beasts. After he has done that preliminary work, he has to put in the anti-slavery seed, raise the anti-slavery corn, and then get the baker to make the bread with which to feed the Sumners, the Wilsons, and the Chases (applause). These men are my personal friends. They have very excellent things in them. I am not speaking to censure them, excepting in that particular which I have just mentioned. They will do better as soon as we tell them they must.

Look now at the political anti-slavery forces, and see what they are. What I have said has been in general; a word now in special.

First, there is the Republican party. That is a direct force for anti-slavery; but, as the anti-slavery idea and sentiment are very wide-spread, the ablest members of the Republican party are forced to leave their special business as politicians and go into the elementary work of the non-political reformers. Accordingly, Henry Wilson stumped all Massachusetts, last year—yes, all the North—not going for a purpose purely political, but for a purpose purely anti-slavery—to excite the anti-slavery sentiment, to produce an anti-slavery idea. And Mr. Sumner has had to do a great deal of that work, even in our City of Boston. New England is further advanced in anti-slavery than any other part of America. The superiority of the Puritan stock shows itself everywhere—I mean its moral superiority. Look at this platform; how many persons here are of New England origin. If the anti-slavery meeting was held at San Francisco, it would be the same; the platform would be Yankee (applause). If it was held in New Orleans, it would be still the same. It is the foot of Jonathan that stands on that platform, which is to tread anti-slavery down (applause). But, notwithstanding New England is the most anti-slavery portion of the whole land, these men, whose business ought to be only to organize the anti-slavery ideas and give expression to anti-slavery sentiments in the Senate or House of Representatives, are forced to abandon that work, from time to time, to go about amongst the people and produce the anti-slavery sentiment and idea itself. Let us not be very harsh in criticising these men, remembering that they are not so well supported behind as we could all wish they were.

This Republican party has some exceedingly able men. As a Massachusetts man, I am not expected to say anything in praise of Mr. Sumner, or Mr. Wilson, or Mr. Banks. It would be hardly decorous for a Massachusetts man, out of his own State, to speak in praise of those men. And they don't need any praise from my lips. And, as a Massachusetts man, I think it is not necessary for me to praise Mr. Hale or Mr. Foot, and several other political men of New England. But, as a New England and a Massachusetts man, you will allow me to say one word in praise of one who has not a drop of Puritan blood in his veins, who was never in New England but twice—the first time to attend a cattle show and the last time to stand on Plymouth Rock, on Forefathers' day, and in the bosom of the sons and daughters of the Puritans to awaken the anti-slavery sentiment and kindle the anti-slavery idea. I am speaking of your own Senator Seward (loud and long applause). As I cannot be accused of State pride or of sectional vanity in praising him, let me say that, in all the United States, there is not at this day a politician so able, so far-sighted, so cautious, so wise, so discriminating, and apparently so gifted with power to organize ideas into men and administer that organization, as William Henry Seward (great applause). I know the other men; I detract nothing from them. It is a great thing for them to be second where Seward is first.

I say this party has great names and powerful men. It will gather from the Democrats and from the Whigs alike. See what it has gathered from the Democrats. Look at that noble newspaper, the *Evening Post* (applause), and its editor, not only gifted with the genius of poetry, which is a great thing, but with the genius of humanity, which is tenfold greater (applause). See likewise such a man as Francis P. Blair coming into this movement (applause). Gov. Chase is another that it has gathered from that party. There are various other men that I might mention, from both the old political parties. Then see what service is being rendered to the cause of humanity by a newspaper which, a few years ago, seemed sworn forever to Henry Clay. I speak of the only paper in the world which counts its readers by millions—the *New York Tribune* (applause). The Republican party gathers the best hearts and the noblest heads out of the Whig and the Democratic parties.

Now look at the next party—the American, so called. I say so called; it is very anti-American in a great many particulars. This likewise is an indirect anti-slavery force, as the Republican party is a direct anti-slavery force. Its principle, I suppose you know what it is—"No foreign influence in our politics." Now, that principle partly comes from a national instinct, and the function of that instinct is this: First, to prevent the excess of foreign blood in our veins; and secondly, the excess of foreign ideas in the American consciousness. Well, it was necessary there should be that function. It is a very important function, because it is possible for a nation to take so much foreign blood into its veins, and so many foreign ideas to its consciousness, that it is swamped and perishes. So I say part of this principle comes from the national instinct, and that instinct is always stronger in the great mass of the people than it is in any class of men that has the superior education; for the superior education consists almost wholly in the understanding—the thinking part—not in culture of the conscience, the affection and the religious element. Therefore for the national instinct I never look to lawyers, ministers, doctors, scientific men, editors, or, in short, to the class of men who have what is called the best education; I look to the great mass of the people; and I do think there is something of national instinct in this principle of the American party.

However, I do not think the chief part of the principle comes from that source. It comes from a very much corrupter source than that—a source a great deal lower than the uneducated mass of the Northern people. It comes from political partisans—men who wanted influence. There are two ways of getting into high office. One is to fly there. That is a very good way for an animal that is gifted with wings. The other is to crawl there. That is the only way left for such as have no wings, and no legs, and no arms (laughter). Well, there was a party of men at the North who could not fly into office; and when the way which led up to the office was perpendicular and went up straight, they could not climb—they were so slimy that they slipped off (laughter). There was n't strength enough in their gluten to hold up their own weight. That body of men could n't fly there, and they couldn't crawl there, so long as the road went straight up. So they took the Know-Nothing plank. It sloped up pretty gradually, and on it Mr. Gardner crawled into the governorship of Massachusetts (laughter and applause). A good many men, in various other States, crawled up on that gently sloping inclined plane, who else never would have been within sight of any considerable office. Now, it is that class of men who caught sight of the national instinct, fearing an excess of foreign blood in our veins and of foreign ideas in our consciousness, and they said let us make use of that as a wedge upon which we can climb up into office. They have got in there, and before long they will fall out of their lofty hole, or, if they stay in, they will be shrivelled up, dried clear through, and by and by blow off so far that no particle of them will ever be found (great laughter and applause). That party just now, throughout all the United States, I think has fallen into the hands of this class of men. It does not any longer, I think, represent the instincts of the people or the consciousness of the people, but the designs of artful, crafty and rather low-minded persons.

This party, notwithstanding its origin and character, has done two good works. The first is negative, the next positive. First, it helped destroy the Whig and Democratic party. That was very essential. The anti-slavery man, the non-political reformer, wanted to sow his seed in the American soil. It was dreadfully cumbered with weeds of two kinds—Whig weeds and Democratic weeds. The Know-Nothings lent their hands to pull up these weeds, and they have pulled up the Whig weed pretty thoroughly; they have pulled it up by the roots, shaken the soil off it, and it lies there partly dying and partly rotten, but at any rate pretty thoroughly dead. They laid hold of the Democratic weed. That was a little too rank and strongly rooted in the ground for them to pull up. Nevertheless, they loosened its roots; they gave it a little twist in the trunk; they broke some branches and stripped off some of its leaves, and it doesn't look quite so flourishing as it did several years ago. Now, this negative work is very important; for, if we could get both these kinds of weeds out of the soil, it would n't be a very difficult matter to sow the seed and raise a harvest of anti-slavery.

Now for the positive work. It calls out men who hitherto have never taken the initiative in politics, but have voted just as they were bid. I will speak of Massachusetts—of Boston. We had in Boston a large class of excellent men who always went a day or two before the election to the Whigs and Democrats, and said, "Who are we to vote for?" The great Whigs said, "We have not yet taken counsel of the Lord; we shall do so to-morrow, and then we will tell you." So these people went home and bowed their knees and waited in silent submission, and the next day their masters said, "You are to vote for Jack Smith, or John Brown," or whosoever it chanced to be. And the people said, "Hurrah for the great Jack Smith; Hurrah for the great John Brown." "Did you ever hear of him before?" "No, but he is the greatest man alive." "Who told you so?" "Oh, our masters told us so." Now, the Know-Nothings went to that class of men and they said, "You have been fooled long enough." "So we have," said the people; "we will not be fooled any longer." They would n't be fooled any longer by the Whigs, and some of them no longer by the Democrats. They were fooled by the Know-Nothings, it is true; nevertheless, it was an important thing for this class of people to take the initiative in political matters. So they not only only pulled up the Whig weed and left it to rot, but they ploughed the soil; they ploughed it deep with a sub-soil plough, turning up a whole stratum of people which had never been brought into the political garden before. That was another very important matter; and yet allow me to say, with all this subsoiling they have not turned up one single man who turns out to be a powerful man in politics, and at the same time new. Mr. Wilson owes his place in the Senate to the Know-Nothings. He was known to be a powerful man before. Mr. Banks owes his place to this party. He was a powerful man before. I don't find anywhere in the United States that they have brought one single powerful man before the people who was not known to the people just as well before. You shall determine what that fact means. I shall not say just now.

At the South this party has done very much greater service than at the North. For, among the non-slaveholders at the South, there is a class of men with very little money, less education and no social standing whatsoever. That class have been deprived of their political power by the rich, the educated and the respectable slaveholders; for the slaveholders make the laws, fill the offices and monopolize all the government of the South. That class of poor whites are nothing but the dogs of the slaveholder. Whenever he says st'boy! away goes this whole pack of pro-slavery dogs, catching hold of whomsoever their masters set them upon. This class of men, having no money, and no education, and no means of getting any, felt that they were crushed down; but they were too ignorant to know what hurt them. They had n't any newspapers. Northern men have undertaken to reach this class of men. Mr. Vaughan established his newspaper at Cleveland chiefly for the purpose of reaching them. Cassius M. Clay, in Kentucky, said, "Let us reach that class of men." Once in a while you hear of their holding an anti-slavery meeting somewhere in Virginia, and uttering some kind of anti-slavery sentiment or idea. Very soon they are put down. Now the Know-Nothings went among that class of men in the South, and they organized Know-Nothing lodges. The whole thing was done in secret, so that the organization was effected and got on its legs before the slaveholders knew anything about it. It was strong and had grown up to be a great boy before the slaveholders knew the child was born. Of course, that party at first does n't know exactly what it is to do, and so it takes its old ideas, or the opinions of persons that are about it, and it becomes intensely pro-slavery. That is not quite all. The Whigs at the South have always been feeble. They saw that their party was going to pieces, and, with the instinct of that other animal which flees out of the house which is likely to fall, they sought shelter under some other roof; they fled to the Know-Nothing organization. The Whigs got control of the organization at the South, and made that still more pro-slavery in the end, which was already sufficiently pro-slavery at the South. Nevertheless there has been starting at the South a body … come to complete consciousne… that they are in the same boat … that … at which curses the sl… white. At present they are t… that, for the bulk of the American party at the South consists of Know-Nothings, who were such before they ever went into a lodge. They are natural Know-Nothings, who need no initiation (laughter.) Nevertheless, the idea will force itself through even their thick skulls.

That party is not hopeless. One day we shall see a great deal of good come from them. At present they are in the same condition that the Irish are at Boston—first ignorant and next controlled by their priests; for as the Irish Catholic in Boston and New York is roughly ridden by that heavy rider, the priest, so the Know-Nothings at the South are still more roughly ridden by this desperate rider that is mounted upon their backs. One day both the Irish and the Know-Nothing master will be unhorsed, and there will be no such riding.

So much for these two anti-slavery forces, one direct and the other indirect. This, let me say in general, is the sin of the politician. He seeks office for his own personal gain, and, when he is in, refuses to organize the anti-slavery ideas which he was put in office to develope and represent. After the windlass has lifted the anchor, he refuses to haul in the slack cable. That was the case with Webster; it caused him his death. It was the case with Everett; it brought him to privacy and political ruin. But let me say, it is a great misfortune that the North has not sent more able men into this political work. In time of war you take the ablest men you can find, and put them to do the military work of the people. And in such a crisis as this, rest assured that you need the very ablest men which the North can have, not merely in productive industry, but men of great head, able to see far and wide, and great experience to organize and administer. The North commonly sends her ablest men to trade and manufactures; the South her ablest men to politics; and so the South outwits us and beats us from one fifty years to another.

Now, here are the anti-slavery forces which are not political. They are various. At first, the anti-slavery men looked to the American Church and said, that will be our great bulwark and defender. Instead of being a help, it has been a hindrance. If the American Church, twenty years ago, could have dropped through the continent and disappeared altogether, the anti-slavery cause would have been further on than it is at this day. If, remaining above ground, every minister in the United States had sealed his lips and said, "Before God, I will say no word for freedom or against it, in behalf of the slaveholder or of his victim," the anti-slavery enterprise would have been further on than it is at this day (applause). I say that notwithstanding the majestic memory of Wm. Ellery Channing, a magnanimous man, whose voice rung like a trumpet through the continent, following that other clearer, higher, more widely sounding voice still spared to us on earth (applause)—I say that, notwithstanding the eloquent words which do honour to the name of Beecher and the heart of humanity, notwithstanding the presence of this dear good soul (referring to Samuel J. May), whose presence in the anti-slavery cause has been like the mouth whose name he bears, and has brought a whole lap full of the sweetest flowers (great applause)—the Church has hindered more than it has helped; for the tallest heads in the greatest sects were heads that were lifted up to blaspheme the God of righteousness and commit the sin which brother Remond says is second only to atheism—the denial of humanity. While the atheist openly denied God, the minister openly denied man. I think the minister committed the worst sin; for he sinned in the name of God and hypocritically. He sinned that he might gain his daily bread, while the atheist perilled his bread and his reputation when he stood up and said, "I think there is no God." I am no atheist; I have no respect for atheism; but when a man in the pulpit blasphemes the Divinity of God by treading the humanity of man under his anointed foot, I say I would rather take my chance in the next world with that man who speaks out of his own heart, in his blindness, and says, "There is no God," than take the chances with that man who, in the name of Jesus and of the Father, says there is no humanity, there is no higher law (loud and long applause).

There are a great many direct anti-slavery forces. The conduct of the slaveholders in the South and their allies has awakened the indignation of the North. The Fugitive Slave bill was an anti-slavery measure. We said so six years ago; now we know it. Kidnapping is anti-slavery; it makes anti-slavery men. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise stirred anti-slavery sentiment in northern hearts. The conduct of affairs in Kansas, Judge Kane's wickedness, and the horrible outrage at Cincinnati—all these are anti-slavery measures. Mr. Douglas stands in his place in the Senate and turns his face North and says, "We mean to subdue you." The mass at the North says, "We are not going to be subdued." It is an anti-slavery resolution (applause). The South repudiates democracy. The *Charleston Mercury* and the *Richmond Examiner* say that the Declaration of Independence is a great mistake when it says all men are equal—that there is no greater lie in the world. When the North hears that, it says, "I am anti-slavery at once." The North has not heard it yet thoroughly. One day it will.

Then there are the general effects of education; it enlightens men so that they can see that slavery is a bad speculation, bad economy. Then there is the progressive moralizing of the North. The North is getting better—more and more Christian and humane. It was never so temperate as to-day, never so just as to-day, never so moral as to-day, never so humane and philanthropic as to-day. To be sure we overlook our black brother; it is because he is not an Anglo-Saxon. But he has got Caucasian blood in his veins; and by and by we shall see our black brother also.

Then the better portion of the Northern press is on our side. Consider what quantities of books have been written within the last ten years full of anti-slavery sentiment and running over with anti-slavery ideas. Think of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and that host of books, only inferior to that, which have been published. Then look at the newspapers. I just spoke of the *Evening Post*: look at the *New York Independent*, with 20,000 subscribers, with so much anti-slavery in it. It does not go the length that I wish it did, and sometimes it does very mean things. It abused our friend Garrison, and I was very much ashamed at the conduct of Mr. Beecher, who refused to express any abhorrence of the act. I have praised Henry Ward Beecher on more than a hundred platforms. Now, when I stand so near his own church, I cannot feel, in the respect that I bear the man, any check to the utterance of my testimony against that conduct of his, in that particular, which to me seemed mean, sneaking, cowardly and wholly unworthy of the generous man, which I know him to be. Nevertheless, see what a powerful anti-slavery agency is the *Evening Post*, the *Independent*, the *New York Times* and the *New York Tribune*, beside that whole army of newspapers, some of them in every Northern city, not to forget the *National Era* at Washington. Besides these, there are the anti-slavery newspapers proper—the *Liberator*, The Standard, and divers others only second and inferior where it is praise to be second and inferior.

Then there is the anti-slavery party proper, with its men, its money and its immense force in the country. What power of religion it has got! I know it has been called anti-religious, anti-Christian, infidel. Was not the Saviour of the world nailed to the cross, between two thieves, on the charge that he blasphemed God? We all know it. How rich is this party in its morals, how noble in its eloquence! I am sorry its most eloquent lips are not here to-day to speak for themselves, and for you, and for me. There is woman also in the anti-slavery ranks. I need say nothing of her. Her own sweet music just now awoke the tune of humanity in your hearts, and I saw the anti-slavery sentiment spring in tears out of your eyes. One day from such watering it will blossom into an anti-slavery idea and fruiten into anti-slavery acts.

Now, here is the merit of this anti-slavery party. It appeals to the very widest humanity and deepest. It knows no restriction of State or Church. If the State is wrong, the anti-slavery party says, "Away with the State"; if the Church is mistaken, "Down with the Church." If the people are wrong, then it says, "Wo … you, O ye people; you are sinning against God and sin will find you out." It does not appeal to the …cian, the priest, the editor alone; it goes to the …c, face to face, eye to eye, heart to heart, and speaks …em, and with immense power. It knows no man after the flesh. Let me suppose an impossibility. Suppose that Mr. May should become as Everett, and Mr. Garrison as Webster; could their sin be forgiven by the Abolitionists? No. Those who sit behind them would stand, not on this platform, but on this table, and denounce them for their short-coming and wrong-doing. They spare no man; they know no man after the flesh.

They are not selfish, for they ask nothing except an opportunity to do their duty, and they have got nothing except a chance to do that, always in ill report until now, when you shall judge how much there is of good report therein.

They are untiring. I wish they would sink through the platform, so that I could say what would put them to the blush before so large an audience.

They appeal to the high standard of absolute right. This is their merit.

Here, I think, is their defect. They forget, sometimes, that there must be political workmen. This comes from the fact that they are non-resistants. If they were the opposite, they would have appealed to violence; being Quakers and non-resistants, they have not done quite justice always, it seems to me, to those who work in the political way.

This has been charged against them: that they quarrel among themselves; two against three and three against two; Douglass against Garrison and Garrison against Douglass; the Liberty party men against the old anti-slavery men, and all that. That is perfectly true. But remember why it is so. You can bring together a Democratic body, snap your line, and they all toe the mark. So with the Whigs; they have long been drilled into it. But whenever a body of men with new ideas comes to organize, there are as many opinions as there are persons. Pilate and Herod, bitter enemies of each other, were made friends by a common hostility to Jesus; but when the twelve disciples came together, they fell out. Paul resisted Peter, James resisted John, and so on. It is always so, on every platform of new ideas, and will always be so—at least for a long time. We must bear with one another the best we can.

I think that the anti-slavery men (I am one of them) do not always do quite justice to the political men. See why. It is easy for Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips or me to say all of our thought. I am responsible to nobody and nobody to me. But it is not easy for Mr. Sumner, Mr. Seward and Mr. Chase to say all of their thought; because they have a position to maintain, and they must keep in that position. This ought to be remembered. Still, it has been of most immense value to mankind that this anti-slavery party has arisen. It has been a perpetual criticism on politicians; and now the anti-slavery non-political party has become so powerful that every political man in the North is afraid of it; and when a man writes his speech, or makes a speech, he asks not only what will the Whigs or the Democrats think of it, but what will the anti-slavery men say of it—what will the *Liberator* and The Standard say of it. And, when a candidate is to be presented for the office of President, the men who make the nomination go to the Quakers of Pennsylvania and say, whom do you want? They go to the non-resistants of Massachusetts, and men that never vote or take office, and ask if it will do to nominate this, that or the other man. A true Church bears this relation to the world—what the Church calls the world. It is easy to criticise the world by a higher standard. The non-political anti-slavery party is the Church of America, which is to criticise the politics of America. It has been of immense service. It is a great force.

Besides that, there is the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon tribe, which hates oppression, which loves justice and liberty, and will have at last freedom for all.

Then there is the spirit of the age we live in. Only see what has been done in a hundred years. A hundred years ago there were slaves in every corner of the land. There are men on this platform whose fathers, within a hundred years, have not only owned black, but red and white slaves also. Now, see what a steady march there has been of freedom in New England and throughout the North; likewise on the continent of Europe. Christendom repudiates bondage. Slavery is only at home in these places in Christendom—Russia, Brazil and the South of the United States. A hundred years ago there was not a spot in all Europe where there was not slavery in one form or another—men put up at auction. It is only ninety-eight years ago since men were kidnapped in Glasgow, Scotland, and sold into bondage forever, in the State of Brotherly Love, at Philadelphia. That thing took place in the year 1758. See what odds there is.

It is plain that American slavery is to end ultimately. It cannot stand. The question before us is, shall it ruin America before it stops? I think it will not. The next question is, shall it end peaceably, as the Quakers wish, and as all anti-slavery men wish, or shall it end in blood? On that point I shall not now give my opinion.

Pardon me for having spoken so long. The theme carried me much further than I intended. But for the sickness of my friend Phillips, he would have stood before you, and his speech, you never think it long (applause).

The President—I wish to say a single word. I think our friend Parker misapprehends entirely the point in relation to the non-resistant character of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I wish it were true, all that he says on that subject. The non-resistants of this country are very scarce indeed. The American Anti-Slavery Society was organized without any reference to that question whatever, and I would not, therefore, like to have the impression go abroad that it is a Non-Resistant Society. It is an Anti-Slavery Society, and we invite persons of all opinions in regard to the matter of resisting evil by physical force, if they are united upon the sentiment that slavery ought to be abolished, to work with us. We are not outside of the Constitution because of our non-resistant views, but because of our anti-slavery views, and we are disfranchised for the slave's sake, inasmuch as in the Constitution we find pro-slavery guarantees which we are not willing to give and which we shall never carry out; and as we must swear to support it as a whole and not in part, we choose, for the slave's sake and in fidelity to our own consciences, to be disfranchised. And the same reason that requires us to take ourselves out of the Constitution we think requires our friends Sumner, Wilson, and all the Free-Soilers, so called, to take themselves out. But I should be sorry to have the impression left upon our friends of this audience that we have been unjust to any of these men in regard to any anti-slavery word they may have spoken, or effort they may have made. I believe we have always been generous, just and magnanimous towards them. Our criticism has ever been in regard to their pro-slavery language and pro-slavery position; and certainly we should be false to the slave and to ourselves if we did not criticise them and refuse to be respecters of persons. I think that we have not forgotten anything that our friend says we have forgotten.

One word further in regard to what our friend says in respect to the supposition that if the slaves were not of the Anglo-Saxon race, they would not stay in slavery, but would throw off their fetters. I am not so sure of that. In fact, I see not only three and a half millions of Anglo Saxon slaves, but fourteen millions in this country. They are outlawed. They are denied the liberty of speech if they would be men and speak out like men. And yet I do not know what they are going to do about it. I only know that they consent to be gagged and dare not speak their thoughts in the South. I know, moreover, that the North has looked on and seen Kansas subjugated by border ruffians and the Anglo-Saxons conquered. I see the President of the United States determined to carry out the work of the border ruffians by means of the standing army. And yet I see no rising of the people of the North that indicates that they have any great manhood left in them, or any great self-respect. Not that I would speak despondingly, but I say they who can consent to the enslavement of four millions of the children of God, of whatever class, are incapable of maintaining their own rights, and so we are this day subjugated. Every man who goes south must go with a padlock on his lips in regard to the greatest crime committed beneath the stars; he must go prepared either for martyrdom or to be dumb in regard to a crime which should cause the very stones to cry out. Kansas is gone; the Slave Power does not mean we shall linger long about Kansas. There is Central America, the rest of Mexico, Hayti, Cuba, all ahead. The Slave Power marches on majestically. We make a great many paper protests and say we ar… to do something. What are we doing?

But I will hope for the best, and that, a… Anglo-Saxon blood, in the long run, will ac… thing for liberty and drive slavery … its own … place the bottomless pit (applause).

Mrs. Lucretia Mott then came forward … say a single word. She said that the freedom … form of this Society was such that the… ties with one another, and hesitated not to … sayings and doings of those that did not plea… Parker was kind enough to greet her appro… him he need not do it, for she had come … Mrs. Mott then proceeded to comme… Parker's statement about the non-resist… this Society, and at the same time to defe… of non-resistance. She acknowledged … principal Abolitionists at the outset … opposed to the use of carnal weapons … exercised their combativeness and dest… use of words that had proved like the fi… in this country; and she was sorry to … Parker neutralize the good that was … for a moment that it was right to use p…

Mr. Parker replied that he had bee… very properest way—by saying, better th… what he meant to say.

The meeting here adjourned, having con… session more than three hours, with unabated in…

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON.

The Society again assembled at the C… Rooms, and was called to order by the Pr…

Samuel May, Jr., from the Committee of … reported the following nominations for Com… for the more perfect organization of the me…

Business Committee—Samuel J. May, Lu… Oliver Johnson, Jas. Miller McKim, Abby Kel… Charles L. Remond, Marius R. Robinson, William … Brown, C. C. Burleigh.

Committee to Nominate Officers for ensuing Year—… Quincy, of Massachusetts; Robt. Purvis, of Penn… Marius R. Robinson, of Ohio; Pliny Sexton, of P… N. Y.; Amy Post, of Rochester, N. Y.; Edmund J… of Boston, Mass.; Lauren Wetmore, of New York…

Finance Committee—Joseph A. Howland, Susan B… thony, Lydia Mott, Rowland Johnson, Phebe H. Jo…

Secretaries of Meeting—Samuel May, Jr., Massachusetts; Aaron M. Powell, Ghent, N. Y.

The Society, by a unanimous vote, adopted the organization recommended.

The President read the eight Resolutions which … been presented in the morning.

Arnold Buffum addressed the meeting. He spoke of his recent severe illness, and his inability to ma… speech. He detailed a conversation he had recently with a slaveholder from a Southern State. This ma… said, took the ground that the Northern States were directly involved, and as guilty, in regard to the slave… of the millions of Southern slaves, as the Southern … holders themselves; and in this Mr. B. thought the S… erner was clearly right. He went on to illustrate … point, very effectively. He remarked that he did no… to hear the slaves or others spoken of as Africans … negroes, or as coloured persons. For they were not … cans; neither were they, as a class, negroes, nor … they coloured persons exclusively—no more so, … than everybody is, for all are *coloured* in one way … degree or another. He had seen, in the District … lumbia, a coffle of forty slaves, of whom sixteen w… pointed out as the children of their white owners … of whom were as white as his own children. The … of the slaveholder, said Mr. B. (with whom I conve… yesterday), lived at Newport, where, it is well kno… many families acquired vast wealth by the slave tra… asked if it were true that those wealthy slave-… families had become extinct. He said that it was … so. Mr. B. also alluded to the fact that of the seve… tinguished Southern men who had been Presidents of … United States—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Mon… Jackson, Polk, and Taylor—not one of them had … son—certainly not a legitimate son. Mr. Buffum … something more than an accident in this. It was … mind, the manifest finger of God, setting a mark … these men for the part they had borne in the great … of slavery.

Henry C. Howells, of New Jersey, wished to … dying testimony to the value of the principles … American Anti-Slavery Society, to which he had b… by degrees, from his early days, and which he rejo… hold.

Charles C. Burleigh traced the successive dem… which the Slave Power had made of the country, … they demanded not only Kansas and Nebraska, … mastery of the whole territory of the Union, but al… right to go into every Northern State with their … for transit or for temporary sojourn—an entering w… to the full establishment of slavery there. Mr. B… showed how wholly inadequate, how useless, an… absurd it is to attempt to resist the single and lo… croachments of slavery—what folly it is to make the … non-extension of slavery an issue with the South. … is no safety, and can be no success, in anything sh… striking at the monster's very existence. Slavery … die the death. No other principle, or policy, or m… is adequate to save us. Kansas is no better to me … Virginia; I have no more interest to keep it out … former than I have to root it out of the latter. … say it should be shut out of Kansas because it is a … immorality, and an unqualified infraction of every … God, I say it is equally so everywhere, all over the … region which it now occupies. Whoever command… Sebastopol would have been considered as wholly … ligent, and unequal to his position, who should … himself to preventing the Russians from erecti… works, leaving his main fortress wholly untouc…

Mr. Burleigh proceeded to show what a tre… power was brought to bear in favour of slavery … large class of men who claim that American s… justified by God and by the patriarchal institutions … Bible, as do the leading religious teachers and … of the land, either directly or by their religious un… fellowship with slaveholders.

Stephen S. Foster said it was the glory of our pla… that every man's idea, opinion and course were … criticised here. We are charged by our opponents w… being do-nothing abolitionists. What is *work*? … that the best work which consists in the promulga… the great truths which arouse the conscience, wa… heart, and quicken every man to action? But the… sense in which we are *Do-nothings*; we do nothing … hold the slave in his chains, as even our Republican … are doing by their position in this slaveholding U… They are working, it is true, but much they do … strengthen the chains of the slave. We are … using the whole force of our moral indignation … slavery in Kansas, as well as they. But they are … to elevate William H. Seward, or some other man, … Presidential chair, where his first act must be t… oath to carry the obligations of the Constitution … effect. By that oath, William H. Seward must … Kidnapper-General of the Nation—the Head of … of twenty millions of people who have entered into … covenant to give protection and privileges to the … holder, and to withhold both from the slave. I … denying that a strong and sincere anti-slavery … prevails among the Republican party; but such … is also found in the Democratic party, and in … party, if that can be spoken of as an existing par… the position of all these parties, as supporters of a … ment and Union which is the deadly foe of th… I protest against and condemn. And we must … to rebuke the Free Soil Republican party, or we … give up rebuking anybody. We must be impartial … must not consent to wrong or injustice in any … must not seek to cover it up, especially wh… are, in many respects, our friends are in a guilty …

S. J. May (being in the chair) said he thought the … tion of the Republican party essentially different … that of the other parties.

Mr. Foster invited Mr. May to take the pl… show what the difference is.

Mr. May declined speaking at present.

Mr. Foster read a portion of a recent de… United States Senate, when Senator Brown, of M… read an extract from a London paper, *The T…* by Mr. Cass to have the largest circulation of a … in England). The article distinctly took the groun… in a contest with the United States of Americ… Britain would arm the slaves of the United States. … Brown characterized the article as an atrocious on… said he would do his friend who handed him the p… (Senator Foot, of Vermont) the justice to say that … assured him (Mr. Brown) that, in case of such a cont…

(Continued on Second Page.)